

**SOCIAL SCIENCES  
AND  
PLANNING IN INDIA**

# SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PLANNING IN INDIA

*Edited by*  
RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE



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Radhakamal Mukerjee (1889-1963)

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## Introduction

*Radhakamal Mukerjee*

### *Interchange between Theory and Practice and between Social Sciences*

A Seminar was held on "Social Sciences and Planning in India" on January 15, 16 and 17, 1965, at Bakshi Ka Talab under the joint auspices of the Social Science Department, of the University of Lucknow and the Orientation and Study Centre, Bakshi-Ka Talab under the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Government of India. I inaugurated the Conference and was its General Chairman. There were three Sectional Chairmen, Prof. Baljit Singh, Dr. R. N. Saxena and Dr. P. N. Masaldan for the sections on Theory and Practice of Planning Research and Planning, and Social Sciences and Planning Administration, respectively. As many as thirty research papers were contributed for the various sections from various Departments of the University, Ministries of the Government of India and the State Government and Research Organizations. There were continuous discussions, morning and afternoon, for three days. The collaboration between the University and the Orientation and Study Centre proved exceedingly timely and appropriate for planning theory and practice because of the brisk interchange of ideas between academicians and field workers and investigators in different areas of community development.

That planning in India is now encountering a grave crisis is due to the hardly concealed fact that it has been an affair largely of the bureaucracy and few statisticians, and not even of economists, not to speak of social scientists, who are often aptly called 'social engineers' in both centrally planned and market economies. Planning means a consciously designed advance towards a new social and economic order. The new order obviously implies goals and values about which there is an agreement in the planned society.

The various social sciences not merely deal with these major goals and values for adequate fulfilment under a given social and institutional set up but also clarify the appropriate means, materials and procedures. Society is an integrated whole and planned advance must be a total advance. Otherwise there can be no advance. In every social system goals and values must be pushed, integrated and fulfilled together from the different sectors and levels of life.

*Plus and Minus Sides of the Indian Plan*

The etiology of the sickness of the Indian Plan must be properly understood in order to prevent waste of human and material resources and psychological and social frustration, and clear up the ground for fresh rational planning. In Indian planning today the following would represent the plus and minus sides at different levels of living:

<i>Plus (+)</i>	<i>Minus (-)</i>
1 Increase of national income	1. Depletion of land resources and scarce minerals
2 Improvement of industrial and agricultural output	2. Population explosion.
3 Improvement of capital accumulation	3 Increase of unemployment.
4. Modernization of large-scale industrial technology.	4. Sky-rocketing of prices
5. Development of the public sector in industry	5. No steady improvement of the techniques and organization of small and medium-scale industry
6 Nationalization of transport insurance and banking.	6 Inadequate education especially absence of adult education
7. Programme of social security.	7. Inadequate medical facilities
8. Diminution of mortality.	8. Shift towards concentration of income and wealth
	9. Shift towards political disagreement and tendency towards Balkanization
	10. Reduction of real wages.
	11. Diminution of social and economic freedoms

The concept of planning is, no doubt, rooted in the general all-round progress of society and the individual in terms of progress of all values. It is the social science outlook which stresses that social

goals and values can be fulfilled only in accord with others. For instance, it is now pointed out by Demison, whom Dr Baljit Singh mentions in his Address, that the phenomenal economic growth of the U S A is to be attributed much more to education and advance on knowledge (accounting for 23 per cent of the growth of total real national income) than to capital accumulation or improvement in employment. What is called the "residual" which is a consequence of, among other things, improvement in the quality of the labour force resulting from education and advance of knowledge is responsible for 58 per cent of the total increase in the real national income between 1909 and 1957. The contribution of education proper to increases in GNP, in the U S A, is isolated by Hector Correa. His calculations attribute 31 per cent of the increase of private non farm GNP between 1909 and 1949 to labour and capital inputs, 5.3 per cent to 'increments in education of the labour force', 4.4 per cent to "improved working capacity due to health improvements", and 59.3 per cent to "other technological progress".

#### *Education and Human Resource Development*

Harbison and Myers have prepared a table given the rank order of the principal countries by per capita GNP and level of human resource development.

TABLE I

Country	Per Capita GNP (U.S. Dollars)	Expenditure on Education Per cent of National Income	Percentage of Population in Agriculture	Level of Human Resource Development
U S A	2577	4.6	12	IV
U S S R	600	4.5	50	IV
U K	1189	4.2	5	IV
West Germany	927	3.6	23	IV
Japan	306	5.7	39	IV
India	73	1.7	71	III
Egypt	142	3.7	65	III
Thailand	96	2.7	85	III
China (Mainland)	72	N.A.	69	II
Indonesia	131	0.8	75	II
Burma	57	3.6	N.A.	II
Pakistan	70	1.2	65	II

In India we are encountering today disharmonious lopsided growth of the heavy industries, depending on foreign aid and grant, without synchronous improvement of agricultural skills and output—diminution of size of the family and general progress and dissemination of education—scientific knowledge and techniques for human resources and potentialities development. It is the many-sided improvement of the scientific knowledge and skills of the population that, only, can bring about steady improvement of per capita output and leisure, social mobility and adaptability in the broadest human context.

### *Goals and Targets of Social Sciences Other than Economics*

Planners should now be associated with "social engineers" who representing the entire range of social sciences can bring to the fore the urgency of social investments for education, health, nutrition and human resource development generally. They would stress in the counsels of planning that not merely economics and statistics but also the other social sciences must provide targets of social goals and optima which must be implemented together in order that there can be total progress towards the desired society. Education at all levels, the technical 'know how' in all sectors of life, limitation of family size, austerity, economy and spirit of sacrifice among the upper income groups and social equalization are all to be regarded as equally essential goals in the country as industrialization for ushering in the efficient, affluent and equitable society of the future.

It is also the various other social sciences such as sociology, psychology, pedagogy, social anthropology and political science which can focus the all important view point that planners and economists cannot build up a new social and economic order by mere economic techniques and organizations, laws and ordinances. For the new order can only emerge in the minds and hearts of men who must form good habits, understandings and ideals.

### *Necessity of Institutional Planning in Different Sectors*

The greatest drawback of the present system of planning is that we have not given serious attention to institutional planning. We need today an institutional theory of Indian socialistic planning which should explore what types of institutions are favourable to the growth and development of the socialistic pattern and which are

blocking change, innovation and investment and preventing the more dynamic, socialistic forces of the new age from asserting themselves. This means that we must move into the realm of social traditions, beliefs, valuations and ideals. We should immediately ask ourselves, for instance, what economic and social stratification with its associated scale of values hampers the development of a programme of agrarian socialism such as the fixation of ceilings on holdings, co-operativization of agriculture and co-operative marketing of produce and of industrial socialism through the development of trade unionism, profit sharing and workers' participation in management—all considered and pressed strongly by the Planning Commission. Only the proper type of institutions in different sectors of economy can condition people to new egalitarian values and virtues and not a pious appeal to generosity and nobility of character. The simultaneous establishment of a minimum floor or level of income and standard of living for all people, and a ceiling for all incomes requires a good deal of institutional re-adjustment. Without this such goals of the Indian Plan in particular that are outside the purview of the economists and statisticians, *viz.*, equality of income and opportunities, social security, freedom and social justice and cohesion, cannot be reached. Without these again the Plan would show imbalances and disharmonies causing social maladjustment and confusion, if not chaos—grave symptoms markedly prevalent in the present situation.

Economists and industrialists of the country often dream of an accelerated industrialization of the country bringing down the agricultural population to 20 per cent of the total population emulating the U.S.A.'s 12 per cent. This is a wild economic chimeræ—a grave sociological and cultural myopia. To transform India into a vast bee-hive of industrial cities and towns is to introduce on an unprecedented scale problems of social disorganization and deviance among colossal urban populations, the majority of them being slum dwellers as at present, that will defeat any social planning. This certainly is not modernization but getting the worst of it from the West, apart from losing a good deal of the precious cultural and spiritual heritage of the nation that perhaps may be India's contribution to both the social values and the social order of the future.

The social uses of leisure and gradual deflection of the consumption pattern, towards non-material services and imponderable values so as to lead to new dimensions and equalities of human living and

adventure, already, present grave problems in the world's affluent, over industrialized countries. Modernization of India must be compatible with a fair distribution of the goods and values of life among the rich and poor and an all round improvement of social security, leisure and culture for all. These goals have been set forth by the Planning Commission for the country is progressing towards socialism. The Indian upper class must gradually move towards austerity, economy and creation of social consumption goods so that they may powerfully contribute towards the success of the Plan in ushering in the socialistic society.

The gravest lacuna of the present economic planning is that it does not cater to the needs of about one fifth of the Indian rural population, represented by the landless class and holders of under-sized holdings who also belong to the underprivileged castes. Their misery is considerably aggravated in the regime of chronic food shortage and mounting prices. The sinister intolerable combination of hereditary bondage or agrarian serfdom and caste disability in large pockets of agriculturally depressed regions is not yet challenged in the country by the Plan so far.

Agro industrialization and stabilization of agricultural workers in collective farms on reclaimed lands in a country-wide programme have hardly matured under the Plans.

Another grave drawback of the planning programme is the complete absence of regional resource planning in the river basins and of metropolitan planning in the hinterlands of such big cities as Calcutta, Bombay, Kanpur, Nagpur and Madras. Rural electrification, rail and bus traffic and development of industrial estates, and satellite towns and villages should be co-ordinated together for a symbiotic not parasitic linking of metropolises, cities, towns and villages. "Urbanization" or the nature and development of new efficient, industrious and prosperous rural cum urban habitations will embody a new economic and social feature of planning.

In the State, planning authorities should also be set up to deal with flood control in eastern U P, North Bihar, and Nepal, and with the steady march of the desert, embracing parts of U P, M P, Rajasthan and Delhi. The vast mineral region, covering large parts of Bihar, Orissa and M P could also under a combined planning authority build up an Indian Industrial Ruhr in the central heart-land speeding up the industrial advance of the whole country.

Along with the private and public sectors in industry, we should

now also establish a third sector, *viz*, the co-operative small industry sector which can be dovetailed into the larger industrial enterprise as an active indispensable ancillary, adding to industrial capacity and employment potential of rural areas

### *Necessity of Overhauling the Educational System*

The institutional reorientation towards the socialistic society has to be supported by setting up technical workshops all in our Secondary Schools and Colleges so that rural education can be industry-oriented, and the mounting city-ward drift checked. Education not only for the liquidation of illiteracy, but more essentially for the dissemination of general and applied science and technology, and the technical know-how and skills of modern living and of the new values of social equality and justice must now be seriously taken up by the Fourth Plan. The following table would show the distribution of types of education among the same major countries dealt with in Table I while discussing the level of human resource development

TABLE II

Country	1st Level Education Pupils Per Thousand Population	3rd Level Education. Students Per Million Population	Percentage Distribution of University Enrolment in Humanities (Including Social Sciences)
U S A	163	19005	N A
U S S R	134	11800	6
U K	N A	1984	40
West Germany	N A	N A	N.A
Japan	135	635	49
India	78	2412	62
Egypt	N A	N A	43
Thailand	157	2152	N.A
China (Mainland)	133	987	N A
Indonesia	91	408	N A
Burma	76	640	N A
Pakistan	52	1491	61

It is apparent that in India not only is the first level education very much lower than in the developed countries, but the enrolment at the universities shows the predominance of literary and humanistic studies. There is too small an enrolment for science and technology as compared, say, with U S S R.

Education at all levels in India must now primarily aim at the cultivation and dissemination of applied science and technology. Literacy also should be considered as a means or a tool for human resource development, in its larger sense, and for modernization of society. The direct relation of the level of human resource development to the expenditure on education is abundantly brought out by our Table I. But that the contents of education are more significant in respect of the strategy of resource development is not so evident. U.S.S.R. and West Germany are foremost in the field of industry and technology, largely, because of the successful orientation of their education at all levels to the development of high-level man power. Conversely, Burma in spite of its appreciable expenditure on education is lower in the level of human resource development than India, Pakistan and Thailand. In India even the Education Commission, it is feared, will not be able to write on a clean slate, and counteract the current over-literacy bias in the educational system at all dimensions. The Third Five Year Plan aptly remarks: "The socialistic pattern of society provides a major line of advance in a developing economy which is becoming increasingly complex and in which there is a constant interplay of a variety of socio-economic and other elements." But the social objectives of a "radical recreation of man's intellectual and psychic structure" is completely neglected so that along with chronic hunger, unemployment, and disease, widespread illiteracy, superstition and obscurantism are prevalent. Family values must be transformed radically by adult social education. The success of the family programme rests on abandoning the medical and clinical approach and developing the integrated social science approach for improvement of the personal and social acceptability of birth control and the new goals and motivations it implies. India must now achieve a new synthesis of the values and virtues of her ancient agricultural civilization with technological values through a fresh orientation of metropolis and satellite town, village and city and a dispersed co-operative pattern of industrialization that can blend more harmoniously with the co-operativization of agriculture and the emerging Panchayatiraj.

#### *Democratic Procedure and Aims of Planning*

The administrative system requires, now, to be thoroughly overhauled. It is entirely unsuited to the present task of a democratic and non-directive, rather than authoritative planning in respect of both

aim and procedure This has been a by product of British bureaucratic administration that did not rely at all on a two way traffic between government and people Devolution and delegation of responsibility to the people especially in planning administration demand not tinkering with the present system but the development of a new democratic system of administration rising tier to tier from the *gaon* panchayats to the highest State and Central levels It is amazing to see the present allergy of the administrators to substantial reforms that may be responsive to the new tasks and obligations of planning

The Planning Commission will now do well to obtain expert advice and guidance of social scientists from different fields—sociology psychology education political science social anthropology and demography and not merely of the economists and statisticians in order to find out the imbalances disharmonies and disproportions of the Plan that hinder development—what priorities are wrongly given leading to unfavourable social trends what proportions are sacrificed leading to stubborn drags and blocks coming from the people's side and rooted in the habits customs and ways of living that resist social change Such expert interchange would certainly clarify that in planning social goals values should be more holistically and comprehensively conceived than economists and statisticians would envisage

Planning that creates less equitable distribution and more concentration of income wealth and opportunities and leaves the problem of unemployment and underemployment unsolved is sectional upper income group and is bureaucratic planning Planning that neglects the system of communication and interchange between planners and the planned for disseminating the goals and targets is self defeating from the very start Planning that neglects the redistribution of interests in the land and the reorganization of farming the source of livelihood of the most considerable majority of the population is not perspective planning Finally, planning that does not ensure harmonious growth of modernization education and applied technology for the achievement of democratic culture cannot be balanced planning

#### *Social Sciences and Democratization*

Planning is a process and is aided enormously by the stress of the goals and targets of communal well being in the larger human context of human resource development that sociology, education

social anthropology and political science elucidates Economics among the social sciences, roots itself in the constructive, acquisitive and possessive desires and values of man that underlie the production and accumulation of material goods and values in any social system. But when it presses for the sharing of the material goods and value, of life for "the maximization of social welfare", it has to depend on the socio ethical norms and optima of social equality, justice and welfare, developed by sociology, political science and jurisprudence. In fact certain schools of modern economics replace the norm of maximum output of classical economics by the norm of "equality of income". Some would merely say that equality is a good thing and "everyone wants more equality". Planning has to accept and implement such norms and standards of justice, equality and solidarity for economic decisions and policies. Accordingly, the impact of the entire range of social sciences on planning and planners cannot but be democratizing and equalizing.

Indian planning must today be leavened by the democratic values of universal education and diffusion of science and mechanical techniques for comfortable living and social justice and equalization of the benefits of modernization and industrialization for all for just living. This will not only improve the two way traffic of communication, physical and moral, between the planners and the planned community, but also provide the much needed national enthusiasm and impulsion for the plan, improving its implementation at all levels and quickly bringing about total advance of the social system.

### *True Man Power Planning*

Physical planning is a social abstraction. It is a figment of sophisticated imagination of the statistician dissociated from the social realities. Economic planning remains also abstract and incomplete, unless it becomes consistent with the totality of goals and values of social progress that must be, besides, democratic and universal enough to arouse the social and political idealism of the people. It is the social sciences that broaden and democratize the strategy of true man power planning or human resource development in the widest context, and makes the people more responsive to modernization as their own contributions to it are simultaneously enlarged. Finally, it is the integrated social science and social philosophy viewpoint that would subordinate and regulate the instrumental and

proximate goals of economic development and planning according to the intrinsic and ultimate values of human perfection, social peace and solidarity—spiritual norms and imperatives of self-actualization and self transcendence that are discerned as identical with the democratic values of universal equality, justice and love. The social system, not governed nor guided by the higher-dimensioned intrinsic values and norms, may develop into an affluent society with over elaboration of the economic mechanisms and organization, technology, over-employment and over strain and crippling of human freedom, creativeness and self actualization. That will be atavistic and perverted man power planning. Even in the initial and transitional phases of developing economics, it is essential to keep in mind the intrinsic as well as the instrumental goals of total planned economy in relation to the development of man and his society and culture.

PART I  
SOCIAL THEORY AND PLANNING

## The Integration of the Social Sciences in Relation to Planning

*Radhakamal Mukerjee*

### *The Distinction between Intrinsic and Instrumental Values*

Man is psychologically so constituted that his means and ends become juxtaposed, and often identifies means and ends or instrumental and intrinsic values to such an extent that the latter are forsaken in the feverish pursuit of contributory means or instrumental values. Again, he makes wrong choices in the absence of an adequate knowledge of means of instrumental values. Kant distinguished between three imperatives—the technical, the pragmatic and the moral, the first two are hypothetical and contingent, while the moral imperatives are categorical, having according to Kant, an objective existence. The moral imperatives, correspond to the modern concept of intrinsic or essential values having a necessity derived from social living itself. These are derived from the common basic physiological, economic, social, political and cultural needs and interests of man, and are partially objective. There is a consensus among individuals in a given society about these essential values or social ends and also, about their hierarchy or ordering. On the other hand there is room for individual preference scales in respect of the instrumental, the technical and the pragmatic values that are more concrete, and more specialized.

The essential problem, in all planned societies is to so devise the institutional structure and particularly choice mechanisms including voting on the political level as to bring the instrumental or operational values into coincidence with the intrinsic or essential values, i.e., to bring the technical and the pragmatic imperatives into coincidence with the moral imperatives.

*The Instrumental Values of the Various Social Sciences*

The distinction between the *intrinsic or essential* and *pragmatic or operational* values, both sets of values constituting integral parts of the social process and technology and embodying the search for unity and wholeness in one or other of the social sciences is given below

<i>A</i> Social Science	<i>B</i> Intrinsic or Essential Values	<i>C</i> Instrumental or Operational Values
Ecology	Fitness and Continuity	Exploitation versus Conservation of Resources
Psychology	Wholeness and Integration	Inhibition versus Actualisation of Potentialities
Sociology	Social Solidarity	Gemeinschaft versus Gesellschaft
Economics	Welfare	Competition versus Collectivism
Politics	Equality	Freedom versus Regulation
Jurisprudence	Security	Rights versus Orders

While we deal with instrumental values or sub values in each social science, the hypothetical, tentative or operational, rather than the transcendental, attitudes come to the force

*Operationalism in the Social Field*

Just as the new physics has abolished time, space and mass as absolutes, so social science may now forsake its pre occupation with abstractions, such as the Common Welfare, the General Will, Democracy, Authoritarianism, Laissez faire, Individualism and Stateism and undertake "Operations" in the dynamic social process and technology. This has been stressed by Bridgman in his well-known work, "The Logic of Modern Physics" which is a challenge to social scientists for the acceptance of the operational method for, both concept formation and analysis in the social field. From the new physics also comes the idea of complementarity of concepts or values.

In the "social laboratory" such proposed operations as accelerating or reducing the birth rate through a definite demographic policy, reducing or increasing social distance through social legis-

## THE VERIFICATION OF SOCIAL ALTERNATIVES AND OPERATIONAL VALUES

	A <i>Social Consensus of Intrinsic Values</i>	B <i>Social Alternatives</i>	C <i>Universal Social Optima</i>
Human Ecology (Demography)	Fitness and Continuity	Exploitation or Conservation of Resources	Average expectation of life
Psychology	Wholeness and Integration	Gratification or Frustration	Effective intelligence or sense of wellbeing
Economics	Welfare	Competition or Collectivism	Equality of income
Sociology	Solidarity	Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft	Social proximity
Politics	Equality	Freedom or Regulation	Unison of polling
Jurisprudence	Security	Rights or Order	Inventory of rights achieving justice

lation and economic arrangement, extending or limiting public ownership or management in certain sectors of economy, and enlarging or restricting certain liberties of the workers in the interests of industrial peace involve *value* considerations, but can be undertaken in the spirit and temper of experiments in the physical and biological sciences. The social consequences, that are inferred to, result from such "operations" of demography, social psychology, economics or political science, have to be judged from certain intrinsic or essential values and certain pragmatic and *verifiable* social optima for which there is consensus in the different fields.

*Graduated Measurements of Sub values or Operational Values*

The orientation of instrumental, operational and alternative values (Column B) and of measurable and comparable social optima (Column C) is not grounded in metaphysical or moral "absolutes", but rather in certain common attitudes and preferences that are real to individuals and groups, and sufficiently objective to form a useful standard of comparison for a given culture at a given time. Such alternative patterns of behaviour people adopt. The contrary norms and standards of social relations they follow (Column B) can be empirically ascertained by the device of polling opinions, along with other choice mechanisms, while the social consequences as repre-

sented by levels of attainment can be measured statistically by relative approximations to the social norms or optima. The consenses of intrinsic values (Column A) are more abstract and cannot be seized; these cannot live empirically verified. But the instrumental, operational and alternative values can be expressed quantitatively, or located along a graduated scale, through the use of the indices of social optima in various fields and levels. Thus it becomes vitally significant for methodology in social science that we can reduce the intrinsic or essential values to simple and concrete sub-values or operational values, and empirically verify the enhancement, reduction or lapse that occur by reference to accepted standards or optima. The differences in the indices will measure the degrees of achievement of instrumental or operational values that carry and guarantee the intrinsic or essential values. Such operations will illuminate and enrich social theory, and considerably enlarge the scope of social planning.

Planning is a striving after all values that expand and are actualised in society only in accord with others.

### *The Quantitative Expression of the Social Optimum*

Social progress at its lower level can be quantitatively ascertained and all the criteria, *viz.*, conservation of resources, longevity, equality of income, leisure, security, liberty, social participation, ground belongingness, equality before the law and complement of civil rights, which have the merits of quantitative expression and verification in large measure, that is denied to the moral optimum should be combined with proper weights for measuring the optimal trend of society and deviation from it for any country at any time. If there be revealed synchronous trends towards the improvement of average longevity and income, leisure, equality, security, freedom and group cohesion in comparison with standards of the country at an earlier date, or with those in other regions belonging to the same order of civilization, the assumption is very strong that society is moving towards the optimum. No single index whether of health, income, social cohesion, freedom and security, can by itself, offer a guide to the determination of the synthetic social optimum. At the same time, studies of the movements of average expectation of life, equality of income, leisure, social participation and of civil, social and economic rights should supplement one another, and if the trends in all indicate an increase, over a period

of time, the presumption is strong that the social system is moving towards the optimum

E T Mitchell has mentioned four techniques for the analysis, comparison and choice of values that he designates as the yard stick, score card, the ideal, and the hypothesis. The "yard sticks" in the social sciences can be represented by the indices of social optimum—the average expectation of life in Human Ecology, equality of income in Economics—social proximity in Sociology, unison of polling in Politics, and inventory of rights achieving equality, justice and dignity in Jurisprudence. In general, the correlation between such a quantitative measure like the index of social optimum and equality in social living is so high that the indices provide a most useful indirect measure of comparative value—an example of the relation between value facts and other facts. But in social living values and optima of different orders of dimensions are found in combination. G E Moore treats this feature of evaluation under the concept of organic wholes. The procedure in value and optimum matters will be both scientific and artistic or holistic scientific in the sense that personal and social goals are validated and controlled with reference to certain measurable consequences, trends or optima about which there is consensus, and holistic or creative in the sense that these are studied experimentally in social arrangements plans and policies in the continuous action and interaction of human desires, sentiments and goals in their totality of dimensions, relations and adjustments. The scientist and the creative artist will have to merge in each other for achieving a sound methodology in the treatment of values and optima in social science.

#### 5 *Imbalances and Disharmonies in Current Planning*

Our planned economy shows a lopsided and disharmonious advance. Such lopsidedness or disharmony may jeopardise and check total advance. The population explosion is such that no improvement is expected of (a) the average expectation of life which is the sure index of biological or ecological progress, (b) the man-land ratio which is the ecologic basis of economic subsistence and progress. The increase in over-crowding in agriculture, of relative unemployment and under employment in the agricultural sector, and lack of improvement of agricultural output, as a whole, indicate that the man-land ratio is growing worse in our planned economy. The absence of adult education in general, and of technical

education, in particular, at all grades are associated with lack of improvement of effective intelligence or sense of wellbeing which is the psychological index of progress

Instead of equality of income, and improvement of leisure and security which are indices of progress in the economic field, we have, in the present decades an unprecedented concentration of wealth and opportunities

Sociological indices, like those of social cohesion and proximity, and political indices such as unison of public opinion and political amity and consensus, indicate a trend of deterioration instead of improvement for the country. Class antagonism and struggle showed no abatement, but are added to the traditional picture of caste cleavage and distance. Instead of any improvement towards a political optimum of pragmatic agreement of opinions and beliefs we have new and unexpected trends of divisiveness and segregation that threaten Balkanization.

Finally, there are imbalances and disharmony between the civic, social and economic rights which indicate that the community is not moving towards the optimum of freedom and security.

Science, technology and industrialization in the planned economy, in other words, have not brought about a total progress towards an efficient, affluent and just society. More serious are the defects in *institutional planning*, due to which we can neither defend nor achieve universal human goals and optima, such as equality of income, security, freedom and social cohesion. Planning must reflect the meaning and direction of human progress, *as a whole*, otherwise it is unsound planning. In the present transitional phase of planning it is only a newly aroused social conscience, a new institutional recognition of social justice and social equality that can order, harmonize and direct the push, forward of *all values*, and combat social maladjustment and confusion, if not chaos. The wisdom of the planners is the first requisite in a planned society. The moot question now is who and what the planners will plan, considering that they ignored certain basic values of equality, security, justice, freedom and social participation for all without which Indian economy and society cannot move towards progress integrally.

## Conditions of Planned Development: Economic and Non-Economic

*Baljit Singh*

The seminar, is expected to contribute sizeably to the body of knowledge currently required for an inter disciplinary approach towards planning. I wonder what a university teacher of economics can share with or usefully communicate to a group whose members differ widely in age, levels of prior formal instruction in economics, experience of public service and administration and even in vocation. The communication barrier seems to be impenetrable on account of the use of the same terms in different concepts and meanings. I have of course, no illusion about contributing anything new myself. A recent evaluation by a foreign expert of the value of such seminars and courses for those who formulate policies or implement it while recognizing their need laments deeply over the results. We are told that seminars even upto six days tend simply to be exhortatory while longer courses give a false sense of achievement to the participants as well to their superiors. Participants may come away from a short course designed to communicate skills required for economic planning such as the construction of input output matrices, application of linear programming or the simulation techniques, convinced that they have acquired full knowledge of the complexities of the process not only to understand its strategy but even to lay it down themselves. Actually they might not have grasped an understanding of even its elements and that of economic growth. But their algebraic gibberish which they may acquire gives them a false sense of their becoming and an inflated view of their being. What is worse, it over awes their superiors and convinces the policy makers alike of the perfection of their knowledge of latest techniques of planning. This may be responsible for an incalculable harm to a nation committed to planned development specially in a country where power

elite are mainly its administrators. The point needs to be emphasized on account of a common notion among the laity that our plans and economic policies are formulated by economists. Nothing is farther from the truth. I am not pleading that their formulation be entrusted entirely to the economists. All I am suggesting is that our tribe ought not be blamed for the action of others.

In fact economists are not doers. They never do a thing not even make a pin. But they know that if there is more than one way of doing a thing how to choose if economy is the only criterion. They, of course, do not know what thing to do and what are the various ways of doing it. All these data and side conditions have to be supplied to them and hence their solution can be only satisfactory as the knowledge of all else, i.e., of the things to be done, of all the ways, of doing each, of the available resources and techniques, etc. Any improvement in economic planning, therefore, does not depend mainly on a rigorous application of economic analysis or even on their perfection if ever possible but equally if not more on a general advance in our knowledge especially of resources and techniques of production. We do not even assert that the economic choice is the best choice. It is so obvious for instance when a bride is to be selected, or national freedom is to be defended. This is not so obvious in matters concerning goods and services that have a value in exchange. But even in the acquisition and accumulation of these by an individual or a whole community or a nation, cultural value may be no less significant as exchange values or prices. Hence economic growth is as much a transformation of culture as of economy. A traditional society is often attached to the idea that substantial or rapid economic growth can be implanted on an on-going culture and will be able to have the per capita income of rich industrialized countries and at the same time retain its age-old value system, social structure, folkways and mores or what it regards as its way of life. How erroneous is such notion must be clear to anyone when it is realized that the difference between a poor and a rich country lies as much in its average consumption and savings per capita as in the satisfaction of its collective needs. Hence a developing country, if its people have to consume more and save more, must change its status symbols and attitudes towards material goods whose supplies under the most favourable conditions can be increased only to the extent people want and work for

them Acquisitive society and a pecuniary culture may be strangers to poor countries but have become natives of all developed countries. The developing countries of Asia and Africa may find more acceptable names for them but no nation can be transformed from a five per cent saver to fifteen or twenty per cent saver, or from two-mealer of coarse rice to five-mealer of exquisite courses by the rope-trick alone. There can be no economic progress with the cult of poverty, magic of past, morals of decadence and culture of stagnation. It does not mean that fundamentals have to be given up or heritage to be denied. But the dead wood has to be cut, obscurantism to be abjured and change to be accepted in all walks of life, if economy is to be transformed.

It is, however, a moot point of controversy especially between the Marxists and non Marxists whether economic institutions are not basic to all others and whether economic transformation does not lead by itself to the required social and political change. Accordingly some hold that a frontal attack on poverty may be all that is necessary so that social development and moral uplift, administrative reform and welfare services are seen as by products. It may, however, not be the whole truth and in the initial stages of planned development there is as much the necessity of removing the social, administrative and institutional including the legal barriers to economic growth as of direct measures for increasing the output. At a later stage when growth becomes self sustaining economic development may lead to social progress. But so long as that stage is not reached social planning is a necessary although never a sufficient condition of planned economic development. Our present day difficulties in achieving the economic goals of our plans are probably due to inadequacies of social planning manifested in unpreparedness of the people for the planned growth rate, even their indifference to it, administrative and political inefficiency, all types of non economic delays and lags, and a stupefying low rate of institutional and legal reforms. It is in this context that shortfalls in implementation as distinct from formulation can be seen in their proper perspective. Actually, the two cannot be separated and implementation effects cannot be said to exist in vacuo.

Growthmanship has been the favourite pastime of economists since the fifties and there are more growth economists today than ever in the past. They have exploded many of the old methods, e.g., that growth has a limit or ceiling or that a nation is poor because of

the niggardliness of nature or on account of its poor natural resources or that economic development depends on free enterprise U S A could develop with rich natural endowment but the same advantage has not made Canada equally or Africa even distantly prosperous The lack of natural endowments could not prevent Japan to be the first to develop in Asia U K is not more richly endowed by nature than France, Germany and many other countries and yet it was the first to make industrial revolution Private enterprise and competitive economy led Japan and West Germany in recent years to very high rates of economic growth But the same has been true of several countries in the Communist bloc as well as in Yugoslavia and Italy What is essential is a planned use of resources and it is this which planning tends to achieve through conscious decision making by the society as a whole through the state The system is especially advantageous to countries with little private enterprise to undertake rapid industrialization It also takes into account social costs which private enterprise neglects and at the same time reduces errors and misallocation due to uncertainty created by innumerable private decisions taken in ignorance of each other Hence, for a country like ours there is no alternative to planned development and it would be a sad day indeed if it is scratched in disgust or in revolt to its shortfalls and strains, for then, we would be bidding farewell not to planning alone but equally to development

The main decisions that have to be made in planning relate to strategic choices concerning competing or alternative sectors, techniques, projects and regions rather than in regard to the specification of the details of individual items of goods and services These latter can easily be left to management for whose guidance there are well defined rational rules derived from the cost-price calculus These strategic choices are, however, fundamental to a plan and reflect its priorities It is for this reason that it is often stated that the size of a plan is not so important as the break up of its investment Here the economists are, still arguing whether an economy can be lifted by pulling up a single end link with all the available forces or all the links in the chain have to be lifted up and pulled forward simultaneously More commonly we designate it as the issue between balanced *versus* unbalanced growth To a considerable extent the issue is linked with the size of a plan because of you put too many eggs in a single basket the chances are that you

will break both the eggs as well as the basket. But if you distribute too few eggs in many baskets not only will all the baskets remain under-utilized even the eggs will not be entirely safe.

In practice, the choice is seldom between *A* or *B* but between how much of each. It is not that whether agriculture should be developed or industry, whether capital intensive techniques be used or labour intensive, whether investment be concentrated in developed regions or the backward ones, or whether within a field a major project be executed or a number of minor ones. Rather the question is how much of each is necessary in view of the objective conditions obtaining at a particular stage of development or plan period. These choices are also affected by the perspective of our planning, short or long as well as by the prevailing price relations and external balances of an economy. The net outcome is a plan where choices include an entire spectrum and the process reflects what is known as walking on both legs.

Output and increases in it depend mainly on the (i) number of workers employed or engaged in productive activity, (ii) their working capacity and, (iii) the extent to which they use their capacity. Employment goal forms thus an integral part of the output or income goal but the two are not always reconcilable especially in the initial stages of development. Workers can be employed only to the extent they can be given tools, implements, machines, and land, etc. to work with. If too few tools are distributed among too many workers employment goal may be reached at the cost of the income or output goal, say, when two hundred workers may be employed in a shift to dig with only 100 spades. These capital goods with which the workers produce are very much in short supply in all developing countries. In consequence, planning has to give the highest priority to the capital goods industry rather than to consumption goods in spite of the obvious necessity to raise the consumption standards. It may look paradoxical but it is true that to produce more consumption goods a poor country must start by producing more non consumption (capital and intermediate) goods and services. This is also necessary to raise the working capacity or productivity of the employed workers which depends on their skills, the type of tools and power energy at their command and the jobs which they hold. Investments in human beings or what we term as human capital to raise the skills and health of the workers is, therefore, as essential as accumulation of ordinary capital to give them better tools.

machines and energy to raise their productive capacity. Due to its nature and complexity a worker is able to produce several times more in industry than in agriculture. Hence, productive capacity at an average is a function of industrialization and therefore, it is with this that economic growth is identified. Agriculture is necessary only to the extent it feeds the process of industrialization. But workers may not always use, to the full, their productive capacity and there may be a gap between what they realize and what they can. Irrigation water may be left unused or they may not work as hard as they can and should. This gap may be explained in terms of their weak motivation or poor incentives to work or to produce the maximum. Here again a whole complex of cultural values, institutional framework and economic and price relations may stand as barriers which need to be removed. An individual worker is always helpless against such odds and instead of blaming him or her for inefficiency. One should look to the entire milieu that affects capacity and motivation. Planning aims at improving the field or the complex and its inhospitable climate.

The gap between realized and potential labour productivity substantial as it is, in nearly all sectors of our economy, measures the extent to which growth can in a sense be 'costless' and immediate. What its achievement needs is an improvement of organization, institutions production relations, factor and commodity prices, social values, clean administration, etc. Output is thus limited not because of limitation of investment or inadequacy of resources but to a considerable extent on account of our indecision and weak or no policies in these fields.

Growth economists in the United States, have found that during the last 50 to 60 years the main source of American economic growth has not been either capital accumulation or increase in employment or even both taken together but the increase in output per unit of input, i.e., the 'Residual'. According to one study (Denison) this has been responsible for 58 per cent of the total increase in real national income between 1909-57. Education and advance of knowledge have been more important factors in the prosperity of that country than capital which has contributed less than 20 per cent to its rate of growth. In contrast educational development accounted for 23 per cent of the growth rate of its aggregate national product and 42 per cent of the growth rate in product per person employed. Its contribution has been even more than that of advance

of knowledge. Taking the two together their contribution comes to more than two-fifths of the growth rate between 1929-57 which is more than that of any other single factor including the increase in labour force.

But it is not 'advance of knowledge' in its academic form that has brought about such vast increases in growth rate. It is its application, the changing technology, the new production functions that deliver the goods. Discovery and accumulation of knowledge are necessary conditions of its application but are not sufficient. There is a vast amount of knowledge that is available to the developing countries and yet they stagger far behind in its application. The technological gap that they have to bridge to exploit this rich source of growth is very wide. They of course need new capital to fill it up. But more than that they need an atmosphere of receptivity to novelty—men and an elite to create that atmosphere and sustain it. Development, planned or unplanned needs not only men of science but even more, men for science. Here lies the great burden on our leadership and we shall make of our plans only what they make of new ideas and thoughts.

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## Inter-Disciplinary Approach in Planning

*R. N. Saksena*

The problem of underdeveloped countries may be said to constitute 'emergent areas' which need a scientific analysis, a closer understanding of the factors involved in social change, for in the nature of things these countries represent a developing social economy. At present there are a few countries which are highly developed economically and have high levels of average real income per head. The richest among them are the Western countries which are mainly located in the Temperate Zones. These provide us with the economic upper class of nations in world society. The lower class of nations is much larger, where real income per head is only a tiny fraction of what it is in the highly developed countries. As a result, the industrialized countries are on the whole settled in 'a pattern of continuing economic development'. In the period after the Second World War these countries have soon their productive resources constantly at work at full capacity. But in under developed countries progress is slower, since their main problem is that they are left to themselves out of stagnation. At times they are even in the danger of losing grounds as far as average income levels are concerned. At the same time people in the underdeveloped countries are becoming increasingly conscious of these huge international inequalities and are even inclined to put the blame for their poverty on the rest of the world, particularly the developed part of it. Therefore, all those very poor nations have now been overcome by a craving for economic development as well as national independence. Thus the problem of underdevelopment acquires a dynamic aspect. It implies a certain value of judgement that the goal of social policy of those countries is their full socio-economic development and rehabilitation on the one hand

and complete avoidance of international inequalities on the other. But no economic progress is possible unless the atmosphere is favourable for it. The people of a country must desire progress, and their social institutions must be favourable for it.

This approach is almost essential in conducting social research in our country. In the wake of Independence, the country was faced with many social problems which needed a new technique to handle them. For a very long time the village social system continued to remain integrated, because external factors could not enter deep into it. The result has been that for centuries the rural social organization, power structure and leadership retained their traditional historical character. But since the attainment of Independence, Indian village life has been faced with a new challenge involved in the process of democratization and innovation. With many legislative and tenurial reforms, and finally, with the inception of development schemes of rural reconstruction, the village social system is confronted with new forces and change. Therefore, today the village—its social organization, its culture, its value pattern, its leadership, its economic structure, in fact, the entire village community is standing at the threshold of a new era.

Again, changes of far reaching socio-economic importance are being ushered in by the villagers themselves, greatly facilitated by innovating leadership on the one hand and the conscious attempts by the State on the other, so that the people may be motivated to pursue their own goals and build an economically sound and productive system. It is for this reason that village studies and monographs represent a new trend in Social Research in India what is termed as rural analysis.

Recently illuminating village studies have been published by Srinivas, Dubey, Majumdar, Oscar Lewis, Gough, Belas, McKim, Marriott, Steed, Mandelbaum and others. All that they have succeeded in achieving is describing the habits, customs, rituals and ceremonies in the structure of villages. The social structure of villages has been studied in terms of caste ranking and socio-economic relation of castes. It could be expected that for this process the determinants of these inter-caste rankings were discovered, but it is difficult to establish any consistent set of criteria even for a single village. The chances of discovering general principles applicable to rural society are remote.

Finally, all these studies ignore the fundamental fact that the

Indian village is community. So far it has been a self-contained socio economic unit. It has never concerned itself with the great political upheavals that had taken place in the history of India. What is the vital force that kept the Indian village community alive and self sufficient throughout her history? The present studies fail to give an answer. However, such an approach to rural sociology may have some appeal to cultural anthropologists since it affords them opportunity to interpret a traditional society in terms of assumptions of modern thought. But such attitude implies the refusal to understand tradition in its correct perspective. There is another danger in such other monographic studies. It has led to certain implicit or explicit generalizations which are unwarranted not only because they have been induced from insufficient data but also because evidence to the contrary is available. Under these circumstances exaggerations and important omissions can hardly be avoided.

The Indian village is a very complex system. The habits and tastes, social practices and traditions, area of belief, social structure, attitudes and values of the rural community not only are different but also form an integrated whole. Therefore, if the State intends to take the initiative in order to bring about radical changes in the village community, it would be easier done by adopting a scientific approach through correct appraisal of the situation in all its dimensions with the help of trained social scientists. While planners and administrators must share the primary responsibility for the formulation and implementation of rural development projects, the social scientists can give them invaluable help in the areas of social organization, human relations, culture and values touched by the plans.

It is true, to a great extent, that at present in the case of Government-sponsored village welfare work the relations between the common village people and Government officials are such which need explanation instead of abstract questions requiring answers. It is, therefore, obvious that inter disciplinary approach covers the entire field of human behaviour in society.

Its main concern is the social, and all that it stands for. Such an approach is nothing new in the field of social studies. Persons derive specific laws from several dimensions and explain social interaction as embedded symbol meaning systems, which may be transmitted between various systems of action. Kluchkhohn explains human behaviour in terms of value orientations which are related to human problems of key importance. These include the innate dispositions

of man, the relation of man to nature, the significance of the time dimensions, the modality of activity most valued and the dominant modality of man's relations to other men Kluchkhohn shows how these five orientations can be used as a means of categorising various societies Again, Thomson contends, the social system must be viewed, as a multidimensional pattern in the space time of which it is a part But all of them agree on the integrated nature of human action or behaviour which can be understood only by crossing various boundaries

However, considerable confusion is created by using the same terms, but in different context, by the various disciplines All the social disciplines feel that they have some understanding of such terms as culture trait, culture complex, culture area, ideal pattern, behaviour pattern, acculturation, material culture, cultural integration, social system and so on, yet a good deal of controversy prevails among all of them as to the exact meaning and content of these various terms But a general fringe work of theory for the study of social man can provide a setting for arriving at a clear understanding of the various terms used in all the disciplines This, again, necessitates interdisciplinary approach in the study of social problems characterised by considerable distance reserve and distrust It is not because the villagers are not appreciative of what is being done for them by the state, but their reaction to any innovation is very sharp Either they reject it in its totality or accept it There is little scope for experimentation, since in this process of rejection or acceptance traditional values play a very important role Again, a peculiar type of vacuum exists in the lives of the villagers Some recent governmental measures, such as radical tenurial reforms, the creation of statutory village panchayats, the introduction of the Community Development Programme and the constitutional branch on the public practice of untouchability have raised their level of expectations and aspirations This has also affected inter personal and inter-group relations in the village Whilst their expectations have been aroused, in concrete terms, the people have not had enough evidence of it so far to warrant a shift in their attitude In a community which has been reared on tradition for centuries, a new scheme can only be accepted after its resistance has been overcome, not through exercising authority, but by creating understanding This explains to a great extent the lack of people's participation in the Community Development Programme Therefore, a full

appraisal of their attitude, values, sentiments and beliefs are to be obtained first before launching any scheme. All these factors obviously emphasise the need for intensive social research both in the making of social policy and its implementation. Thus, when a social situation or problem has to be studied in its entirety, the interdisciplinary approach can enable us to arrive at important decisions.

## Social Change and Economic Growth

*S P Nagendra*

It is a commonplace of economic sociology that there is a very close relationship between economic organization and social structure. One may not agree with the extremist point of view of Karl Marx that the social structure is nothing but a superstructure built upon the nexus of economic relationships, or with the alternative view held by idealists like Werner Sombart and Max Weber, that the economic organization is essentially the objectification of the prevailing ethos of the social structure. But there cannot be two opinions about the fact that the economic organization does not exist as an autonomous unit within the social structure. The two stand in such close relationship with one another that whatever changes take place in one are bound to affect the mode of existence of the other. The classical economic theory, however, proceeds on the assumption that the social structure remains more or less neutral to the changes in the economic organization. In consequence, the theory of economic growth has tended to confine itself mainly to the task of relating economic variables to one another ignoring completely the crucial role played by the cultural factor in determining the rate of economic development. In recent discussions of growth-economics the importance of the human factor has, no doubt, been duly emphasized. But its dimensions have not been adequately explored, nor has any attempt been made to translate it into operational terms. Just to acknowledge that economic growth does not depend wholly on the pattern of income distribution, the relative magnitude of savings, the balance of payments position, etc., is not enough. What is needed, is a clear recognition of the fact that a sound theory of economic growth cannot be conceived in purely economic terms but will have to be firmly grounded upon a theory of cultural change.

There are genuine difficulties, no doubt, in formulating a general theory of economic growth and cultural change. The facts of cultural change cannot be reduced to measurable proportions; moreover, they cannot be tackled by one discipline alone. Perhaps an interdisciplinary approach will have to be evolved for dealing with the various aspects of the problem involved in initiating changes intended to bring about a stage of self-perpetuating development in stagnant economies. In what follows, an attempt has been made to analyse the problem from the limited angle of a sociologist.

Economic growth presupposes, among other things, an institutional framework which will favour rather than resist the changes being introduced in an economy undergoing economic transformation. In formulating a plan for the economic growth of a given region or country attention has, therefore, to be focussed not only on how the existing economic order is to be reshaped, but also on how the prevailing pattern of social relationships is to be restructured, so that the institutional framework necessary for the emergent economic order could be evolved side by side and the possible institutional resistances to it minimised. Planning for economic growth thus involves two types of changes: technic-economic and socio-cultural. The technic-economic changes will lead to certain socio-cultural changes in their due course, but it is not necessary that these changes will also bring about the requisite institutional framework. The socio-cultural changes will have, therefore, to be planned independently of the economic changes. What type of changes are to be introduced in the social structure, and how are they to be introduced, will depend, obviously, on what type of institutional framework is to be evolved. Comparative studies of the social structure of the developed and underdeveloped countries have shown that the institutional framework of the developed countries is totally different from that of the underdeveloped countries. There is, however still, much scope for further research on this subject. But the fact seems to be well-established that there are sharply contrasting types of institutional frameworks corresponding to what we call developed and underdeveloped economies.

Sociologists and social psychologists interested in the problems of development of the underdeveloped areas have been able to evolve very useful conceptual schemes for describing the institutional framework of the developed and underdeveloped areas. For obvious reasons, they cannot be examined in detail at this place;

we shall make only a brief reference to them. The institutional framework of backward economies has been designated as ascriptive, particularistic and diffuse, while that of developed economies as universalistic, specific and achievement-oriented. The corresponding form of social structure, of the first combination of values, is characterized by the presence of a closed system of stratification. The status of individuals belonging to such social structures is determined by non-rational factors such as age, kinship, birth, etc. In other words, the status of individuals in these social structures is fixed or predetermined. These social structures are relatively immobile, tradition-bound and change resistant, their corresponding outlook being predominantly fatalistic. Naturally, therefore, the individual in such systems has little urge for social climbing. The distribution of economic goods and the mode of production of these systems is diffuse and particularistic. Examples are, the caste society of India, the tradition haunted familistic societies of Asia and South Africa and the primitive societies in general.

The corresponding form of social structure of the second combination of values is marked by the presence of an open system of stratification. The individuals, in these social structures, do not get their status ready-made but have to achieve them by their own efforts. As compared to the former type of social structures the latter are, highly mobile, change oriented, with a predominantly rational outlook. They have a highly rational mode of production and division of labour. Another important distinction between the two types of social structure lies in their system of technology. The organization of technology in the ascriptive social structure is in strict conformity with tradition, it is quite simple in form and its growth is strictly controlled.

The technological organization of the achieving societies is very complex, beside it has a highly rationalized form and occupies such a key position in the socio-economic order that it often tends to become autonomous, creating its own norms and values.

The above discussion provides us with a theoretical background against which the sociological aspects of developmental planning in the underdeveloped countries can be viewed in their proper perspective. Economic changes in these countries will have to be accompanied if not actually preceded by a process of cultural transformation. For, no economic development would be possible without a replacement of the values making for backwardness and under-

development. Most economists might be inclined to believe that economic development with the technological changes, that it entails, will generate its corresponding pattern of values in due course. Such an assumption would be wrong. Experience has shown that developmental changes in the backward economies have invariably led to the emergence of a cultural pseudomorph, which, unless dissolved in good time, becomes a big stumbling block in their economic progress.

One of the many reasons for the comparatively low rate of economic growth in India is the tough resistance being offered to the developmental changes by our traditional institutional framework. Our institutional framework still continues to be ascriptive, particularistic and diffuse. It is not necessary to point out how the continuance of the old framework is creating serious bottlenecks in the progress of our developmental schemes. There are many sections of our society which are still opposed to the idea of population control. The gold control policy, in spite of the stiffness with which it was introduced, has failed to produce the results it was actually intended to produce. Because of the slow pace of social change the country has been forced to uphold two contradictory systems of values: the one decadent but not fully dead and the other emergent but not yet fully born. It can be easily demonstrated how our pseudomorphic existence has been responsible for unleashing all kinds of fissiparous tendencies which are diverting our loyalty from the nation, to the caste, community, region and so forth, thereby threatening to jeopardise our entire national existence. Another disastrous consequence of the lag between economic development and social change is that the country has become divided into developed and underdeveloped regions with vast disparities of income and standards of living. The regions, which because of their access to the centres of modernisation, have been most receptive to the new social changes, have stolen a march over the other regions which are tradition bound, backward and impervious to the new influences.

To give a more realistic touch to our plans, and to make them more effective, it seems desirable to back them up by a bold programme of social reform. The reform measures being adopted by the state, from time to time, would be more effective if they could be formulated within the framework of a broadly based social policy. Why cannot there be a sociological division of the Planning

Commission manned by sociologists, social anthropologists and psychologists, charged with the responsibility of formulating a social policy consistent with the requirements of an all round development of the country? The biggest need of the hour seems to be, see to it, that the socio cultural changes which can be generated in the natural course of economic development are not delayed by a faulty implementation of the developmental schemes. Our programme of industrialization and urbanization should be executed in a manner that may lead to the growth of "generative" rather than "parasitic cities". The growth of cities all over the world has been accompanied by the emergence of a new value complex, the complex that is most needed by the countries passing through the phase of development. Besides being the fountainheads of modern values, the cities are also an important economic resource for the underdeveloped regions. A city can play a large role in the development of the region in which it grows or exists. Its impact on the region should be regarded as "generative" if it conduces to the economic development of its tributary area that is if it can engage its immigrant population in productive tasks such as secondary and tertiary occupations. The city which exists, only as an administrative unit, is essentially 'parasitic' in character. Urban growth in India has, therefore, to be planned in such a way that the emerging centres of the new civilization should be able to play a generative, rather than, a parasitic role. No attention has so far been paid by the Planning Commission to this aspect of development. However, it must be borne in mind that the replacement of the old institutional framework by a new one cannot be the sole objective of a policy for planned social change in India. It has also to take care of the social problems coming in the wake of economic development, problems which would fall within the scope of a welfare policy. The welfare measures introduced under the Five Year Plans are, no doubt yielding good results. But they don't seem to reflect a clear cut long range welfare policy. We are yet not very clear in our minds whether we are planning for welfare or for power. In formulating our social policy we have to take into consideration yet another problem how to counteract the resistances being offered by our conservative reactionist elements to the emergent socio-economic order. In societies passing from a colonial to a nationalist phase, independence often tends to be interpreted as "restoration" of the precolonial system, the conservative elites take independence

to be a freedom for the implementation of the traditional values of the society. A restorationist movement of the kind seems to be taking roots in India also. Unless tackled properly it is bound to activate the conservative elements in the indigenous social structure and frustrate all our efforts at planned socio-economic development.

Before concluding this paper, I would like to touch upon one more aspect of planning in India. As is well known the ultimate aim of developmental planning is to establish a socialistic pattern of society in India. We have said above that for achieving the kind of economic development, which has been achieved by the "developed" countries of the world, it would be necessary to accept their institutional framework. The question now is how far does this framework tally with our own concept of the "socialist pattern"? We are yet not quite sure of what the phrase socialist pattern should mean in positive terms. We only seem to be vaguely conscious of the need for evolving a just and humanitarian social order. Perhaps, we are not inclined to accept wholly either of the two variants of the universalistic achievement-oriented model developed in the West, industrialist individualism or industrialist socialism. Our task, therefore, has been rendered all the more difficult. In trying, however, to evolve our own concept of socialism we have to be extremely cautious about the danger of slipping into the restorationist position of attempting a synthesis of tradition and modernity. If we want to develop our economy, after the western fashion, there can be no escape from the universalistic-achievement oriented institutional complex. At best we could reject some of its ugly features, its predominantly power oriented production system, its excessively bureaucratic organization of work, etc. But under no circumstances can socialism be established within an ascriptive particularistic framework.

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## **Planned Social Change and the Human Problem**

*K. S. Mathur*

1. Social change means some change in the pattern, structure or working of society, or in one of its component parts, such as community, caste, class, tribe or clan. Ordinarily, this can be of two orders—(i) Small-scale change which is usually slow and often in the nature of a minor adjustment to changed environment. (ii) Large-scale change or revolution generally brought about by natural cataclysms, or by religious, political, and recently, by technological and economic revolutions.

2. Social evolutionary thinkers believed that change is inherent in a social system. Their scheme of the progress of human society consisted of stages through which all the human societies were believed to have passed, passing from one stage to another, not by any external stimulus, but by their own inherent force, so to say. Such theories of unilinear evolution have now been discarded by social anthropologists. It is now accepted that social evolution, by itself, could not have brought about the social situation we face today—of diverse patterns of societies. History has belied unilinear social evolution.

3. Acculturation is another process of social change, 'change that is brought about by the contact between two cultures, one of them dominant. We have witnessed such changes in society in the South Seas, Asia and Africa, changes brought about by the agency of Christianity, European material goods, trade and administration.

4. None of these can be regarded as planned social change which really is a recent phenomenon. It may be said to have been accepted as a political policy only during the last forty years or so, roughly after the Russian Revolution. It presupposes, conceding to the planning body (which is usually the National State), the right to plan

for the people, and then take steps to give the directions it considers necessary to the stimuli to social change. This has generally been accepted in full by the Socialist countries, and by countries of Africa and Asia which have only recently included in the list of economically 'undeveloped' or 'under-developed' countries. Partially, planning for social change has been accepted also by developed countries like U K and U S A.

5 In India, planned social change has become conterminous with state planned and sponsored projects to bring about far reaching changes in the social life of the Indian peoples. This is sought to be achieved through (i) Social Legislation and (ii) Economic and Technological development through Five year plans and C D Programmes, which, it is believed, will bring about changes in the structure and functioning of society by bringing in prosperity, enlightenment and material well being.

6 The objectives of these programmes are (a) to rid society of traditional prejudices and group incompetences (such as untouchability, casteism and the like) and (b) in this way, to prepare the community, to modernise itself for the purpose of attaining a take-off stage for its economy and technology. The first is an end to the egalitarian and the democratic process, the second is a prelude to economic technological development for a better living.

7 Studies of planned social change in its relation to human problems involved have to take cognizance of (a) the objective to be attained and the base line from which the start has to be made i.e. the quantum of change required, (b) the time available, (c) resources available—material and human and (d) the ideology or policy adopted for administering the change. In a traditional society like India the quantum of change required is rather heavy, considering the tradition mindedness of the people and the strong obstacles that are inherent in the traditional social system. The time at our disposal is short considering the politico economic race with other nations we are embroiled in—nations which are our competitors for leadership. Our material resources are tolerably good, but our huge population which keeps on mounting at an alarming pace more than counterbalances it, and the democratic process that we have chosen does not appear to be—historically and logically—the best process for bringing about social change in the given situation.

It would be wrong to presume that given economic and techno

logical stimuli, desired social change would definitely follow. As a matter of fact, the social factors have not only, at times, checked the progress of social change but have actually stood in the way of economic-technological development itself. Deep rooted traditions, social prejudices and preferences and the varied patterns of society in different parts of the country—these are factors one does not commonly come across in the West, from where we borrow most of our theories of economic growth and social change.

A major bottleneck to social change in India is our love for all that is traditional and age old. This, at times, goes beyond our desire for economic development and social change. It is now a well known sociological fact that change in one aspect of a culture or society is inevitably followed by changes in other aspects of that culture or society. It is not possible to salvage and retain traits of our traditional culture in the name of "preservation of all that is good in our culture and heritage" and seek economic technological development at the same time.

Lastly, there is the problem of 'coercion' inherent in the principle of planning. The State policy has to be imposed on the people. This perhaps is for their good—but a good, nevertheless, determined by the planning body and the State. The means to achieve this are also State directed and controlled. In the final analysis, planning by the State for the country means some kind of a totalitarian authority at the top. This, in a way, is a double threat to the principle of democracy, and to the fundamental rights of the individual. Nobody would like to argue that planning is absolutely unnecessary, but similarly, few people would like to have every thing planned out, it would probably make life too dull and mechanical. To be able to draw the line at which the planner should stop meddling in the lives of the people would be a real achievement on the part of the politician and the administrator.

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## Research and Planning

V. K. Mathur

Three important dimensions of planning are: (i) *The quantum of change*, during a period of (ii) *Time*, through the best utilization of (iii) *Allocated Resources*. The highly developed *laissez-faire* economies have reached a peculiar stage of affluence and when asked to comment on economic growth in the darker regions of the world, they forget the earlier chapters of the history of their economic development and give an ivory-tower analysis of the causes of slow growth in countries which have launched national plans only two or less decades ago. Social climate and past history of a country are as important (if not more) factors of economic development as capital formation and factors of production. Occasionally, some theorists question the very basis of national planning in democracy while others talk of democratic, socialistic, persuasive, selective and perspective planning which, according to them fit in admirably into the pattern of nascent democracies which have not chosen to go Red. It may be futile to expect accelerated rise in the standards of living, matching with affluent societies in countries which are initially poverty-stricken with a marked paucity of harnessed resources and a machinery for exploring hidden natural wealth. In such countries, neither the, so called, models of economic growth constructed by minds which work in the affluent context, nor the rigidities of centralized planning structures of the Soviet Union and the like can find synchronized application. A specially ordered custom-made model will have to fit into each of such countries, and the manufacturers can be only those theorists who have their moorings in the country ordering the model. Presently, we are primarily concerned with the contributions research can make to smoothen the progress of planned change.

*Fundamental and Applied Research*

In both the fields of fundamental and applied research the essential element would be, what we may call the Indian bias. This does not, by any chance, mean total rejection of the available body of working knowledge, but it only emphasises the importance of a "local colour" which must foreshadow any finding, or construct which we may like, to incorporate in the context of Indian Planning. Whereas, it will be difficult to fix time elements for fundamental research which would depend on the excellence of our universities and scholars, applied research can, probably, acquire a myriad variety of shades and methodologies for purposes of planning facility. It is true that the two types are interdependent and a banal academic background may not give birth to any worthwhile researcher in the applied field, but the growth of planning oriented applied research in all social sciences has the distinct advantage of incentives, finances and all the paraphernalia which enthrall researchers to work more in countries which lack research traditions. During the rather long transitional period it is possible that the social scientist engaged in fundamental research may live in oblivion and die the death of the unknown soldier, but one can always be sure of a mushroom growth of applied researchers reaching starry heights. The clever ones would cross floors leaving fundamental research desolate, and join the band of the emerging elite of applied social scientists. The situation would need to be guarded but it is a difficult prediction as to how best it can be controlled. A feasible step could be to promote balanced momentum for both the fields and in cases of expediency mobilize and train applied research traditions.

*Applied Research Traditions*

An interdisciplinary approach to planning, superficially, requires a synthesis of social sciences. The modernity of specialisation craze will not tolerate such a venture and much less would it satisfy the ego of each discipline—the morning would be that hundreds of years of quest would go down the drain. Nevertheless, an interdisciplinary approach is in the air, not because people are fed up with specialisations but because human behaviour is so complex that it is becoming an impossibility to sort and pick up (specially in under-development regions) problems of progress piecemeal and social science discipline-wise. Any research tradition which attempts to an

intrusion into planned growth, therefore, will have to shake off complexes and orient research to the field problems as they existed and intermingled, criss crossing the entire panorama of what we call the domain of human existence. It is difficult to decide whether there will also be an ethical view of this interdisciplinary approach, but one can be sure that the future holds some drastic (may be unpalatable for the stereo-typed) changes in the realm of research, which can really engineer evergrowing needs of planning. At each level and in every branch, horizontally and vertically, a pool of interdisciplinary knowledge will have to be motivated and channelised for a proper perspective of the colossal task ahead.

### *Research Types for Planning*

Currently, some nomenclatures for types of applied research are available. The division is neither discipline-wise nor methodology wise. Most of them have originally developed on the basis of some specific needs and after either fulfilling or casually by passing that particular need, these types of research nomenclatures are tending to become property of all social science (and sometimes of the pure sciences and engineering) disciplines. Each of these research types utilise services of trained research workers belonging to all the disciplines, and what emerges is not only an interdisciplinary approach to social sciences but much beyond—an area where the social sciences have profitably transgressed their own precincts, and helped the study of the human factor in all walks of life. In every field where the human impact has to be assessed and related to directions needed for planning, planning research is conducted in three areas which are also synonymous to three points of time.

(i) *Pre planning research* This area which precedes the actual implementation of plans is extremely significant for purposes of orienting plans to the findings of base line surveys, laying bare the situation as exists prior to the launching of a programme. Such surveys are either conducted *de novo* to explore an unknown area about which little is known or conducted with the specific purpose of shaping plans on the basis of field data. In spite of the fact that such base line surveys and research are rather unsophisticated (from the point of view of the highbrow social scientist) they are normally of an applied and practical nature providing ample help to the planning administrator. Examples of these are Baseline surveys conducted before a community development block is opened,

survey of human and mineral potentials before an area is taken up for industrial developments, survey of the availability of human skills and attitudes before a programme of cottage or rural industries is taken up. Such surveys are usually government sponsored.

The planning administrator also draws on and should utilise sporadic research conducted by voluntary organisations like universities and institutes of research. Though these researches are not always predetermined for the specific purpose of helping the planning administrator, occasionally, after the results are out the planning administrator may make piecemeal use of their recommendations. The same agencies (universities and institutes of research) conduct fundamental research and their added responsibility is to give such research, if possible a planning tinge so that they can be used as pre planning research.

It is argued that in state of emergency when national planning is being taken up on a war footing it is the duty of social scientists to strengthen pre planning research. This will have to be a two way process—when on one side the social scientists gear their energies the planning administrator must reciprocate and show due consideration and even bear with some delays which are in the interest of research purity.

(ii) *Simultaneous research with planning* There are many areas where research conducted along with plan implementation is conducive. It serves two purposes, (a) Ensures that all factors are working harmoniously and the three basic elements of planning—quantum of change, time and allocated resources—are being achieved and (b) Draws examples and precepts for future implementation in similar situations. Such planned process studies, if we may give them this name, are extremely useful for plan implementation in the rural sector where much depends upon people's participation whose total contribution exceeds the financial outlay. More scientifically designed 'Plan Process Studies' can also be conducted in large scale public industrial undertakings where bureaucratic delays leaning heavily on human failure, may be the chief impediments. It can also be envisaged that these studies can effectively predict application of research models for planned growth.

The theory and practice of Action Research as given by the renowned social anthropologist Soltax has undergone tremendous changes and today the planners are finding its serious application

to plan implementation. Predictions of Action Research depend upon how perfectly the planning implementor combines with the social scientist. Action Research does not merely stop at the stage of lodging pockets of pilot projects and diffusing its results—it goes far deeper into the evaluation and proper assessment of the entire mechanism of a 'pilot project' with the specific purpose of learning lessons for future implementation. Action Research methodology has been, on a limited scale, found to be beneficial in the areas of rural community development; involving plan implementation in little communities, communication processes and can possibly be used for productivity research.

(iii) *Evaluation and post-planning research.* Post-plan implementation research usually takes the form of evaluation. The governmental agency—Programme Evaluation Organization has been engaged in these studies and an almost set pattern of administration has been evolved. Though, there are inherent dangers in mass scale governmental research; presently, an alternative is difficult in view of the all pervading national planning structure. Government, on the basis of simple mechanics, finds easy to evaluate achievement of physical targets, but the same felicity cannot be expected when the government is required to assess social change. On a limited basis, such studies to evaluate attitudinal changes have been sponsored by the government—partly undertaken by the P.E.O. and some by universities. The time lag in publication of these studies appears to be considerable and the purpose of these reports, being able to give a lead, is lost.

Apart from purely administrative evaluation research there seems to be a need for periodical assessment of planning under the auspices of the top level social science expertise available in the country. For this, the government will have to involve people outside, and this can be done if due respect is maintained for their knowledge and academics.

### *Use of Research Methodologies and Tools for Planning*

Social Science disciplines have been borrowed and used with little thought in the context of investigating human interaction where majority of subjects are less ignorant and more apathetic towards any interrogation and probe from outside. The problem becomes insurmountable when these methodologies are used through the medium of locally little understood language. Indian

villages, specially due to their peculiarity of the caste system, have attracted social scientists from abroad. With all their good intentions and excellent technique the task of local language and knowledge of social customs is a handicap which poses problems for the investigators, and doubt about the authenticity of collected data.

Taking for granted that western developed methodologies and tools of research have long traditions it needs argument to say to what extent one can rely on their application and findings in the context of the Indian situation. Experiences are multiple where the margin of error goes on appreciating with the proportion in which the area, investigators' tools and the entire paraphernalia multiply. The final outcome of big surveys though garbed in a good language and scientific jargon may not always stand the test of a repeat check study. At times, the integrity of the investigators, the methodology, the tool or pressure from the organization sponsoring research, may be at fault, but there may also be some inherent deep rooted malady in the *en masse* adaptation of foreign methodology, tools and technique.

*Some Probing Highlights Emerge for Discussion Opinion and Action*

- (1) Which are the specific areas where social science research can help the planning administrator in India?
- (2) What are basic problems of democratic planning which can attract the social researcher?
- (3) How to evolve models of growth based on the Indian experience of planning?
- (4) To what extent fundamental research can help the planning process?
- (5) What type of applied research is most suitable for a close liaison with the governmental planning organization? Which areas of applied research should remain in isolation of the government to give only the main findings for use in planning?
- (6) Can't there be a well organized and structured inter-disciplinary research approach to planning? Or can we label planning promotion research as 'Social Science Research in the service of planning'?
- (7) At which particular stages and levels in the Indian planning process can the conduct of research be particularly conducive for smooth planning and genuine implementations?

- ( 8 ) Which particular types of applied research can be allotted to various sections of planning?
- ( 9 ) What role can Action Research play for planned growth?
- (10) How to make evaluation of non-physical plan targets realistic?
- (11) Which are the best research methodologies and tools for use in the *rural* and *urban* Indian background?

## Anthropological Concepts in Planning

*B K Roy Burman*

In the first five year plan of India, planning has been described as essentially "a way of organising and utilising resources to maximum advantage in terms of defined social ends"

What are the social ends that we strive to obtain through planning?

Social ends can be visualised at different levels, viz, (a) international level, and (b) national level. Social ends can also be visualised at the regional or local level, but for the purpose of this paper, the latter will not be taken much into consideration.

At the international level there is a general recognition today, of the unity of mankind. It is realised that nations can live at peace with one another, only if there is a minimum level of living throughout the world, various international agencies are therefore co-operating to effect a general improvement in the standard of living of the common man. In this connection, nine components of standard of living were indicated by U N Statistical Commission in 1960. These are (a) health, (b) food consumption and nutrition, (c) education, (d) employment and labour condition, (e) housing, (f) social security, (g) clothing, (h) recreation, and (i) human freedom.

The actual forms that these components of standard of living would take would obviously depend on social and cultural traditions, as well as the interplay of economic, social and other factors at various levels and it goes without saying, that anthropologists and other social scientists should play an important role in determining the loci of the same.

At the national level in India, the social ends have been set down in the Directive Principles of State policy of the Constitution. All the components of standard of living as indicated by the U N Statistical Commission are covered by these Directive Principles.

Further, it has been laid down *inter alia*, that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice, social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life

These general principles were given a more precise direction in December, 1954, when Parliament adopted the socialist pattern of society as the objective of social and economic policy. This has been further amplified as follows, in the second plan report "A rising standard of life or material welfare, as it is sometimes called, is of course not an end in itself. Essentially it is a means to a better life. The task before an under-developed country is not merely to get better results within the existing framework of economic and social institutions but to mould and refashion these so that they contribute effectively to the realization of wider and deeper social values. These values or basic objectives have recently been summed up in the phrase 'socialist pattern of society'. Essentially, this means that the basic criterion for determining the lines of advance must not be private property but social gain, and that the pattern of development and the structure of socio economic relations should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increases in national income and employment but in greater equality in incomes and wealth." It has further been stated that "the socialist pattern of society is not to be regarded as some fixed or rigid pattern. It is not rooted in any doctrine or dogma. Each country has to develop according to its own genius or tradition."

It is clear from the above, that while socialist pattern of the society has been adopted as the broad social goal, how precisely it will be attained will have to be continuously determined with reference to the genius or tradition of the nation. Here, it should be made clear that, in a dynamic society the events are not determined by tradition only, there is an interplay of technological and economic factors on the one hand and cultural and social factors on the other. While it would be wrong to over emphasize the role of economic and technological factors it would be equally wrong to over-emphasize the role of social and cultural factors. With this caution, it is proposed to make a quick appraisal of the role of social and cultural factors which have some bearing on planning.

It is necessary to differentiate between defined social objectives or manifestoes, and the thread of undefined social values that run through various life situations. It should be the task of the anthro-

pologists to study the prevailing value system at the national level and community level, to find out how they retard or promote the development activities. Hauser has made a list of the values which conflict with the aspirations of economic development

- (1) emphasis on spiritual rather than material values
- (2) intolerance of deviations from traditional pattern
- (3) stress on after-life
- (4) relatively rigid definition of roles of members of family, etc
- (5) parochialism of diverse racial, ethnic, linguistic and territorial groups
- (6) familistic orientation
- (7) tendency to invest in traditional channels including non-productive ones like jewels, etc
- (8) allocation of relatively large amounts of life spaces and energy to traditional rituals, etc
- (9) prestige vacations in government, religious and agricultural fields and not commerce, industry, etc

It is, however, wrong to consider that all values are equally significant to the life of the community or that they are equally resistant to change. Values may be classified as core values, fringe values, adhesive values and fluctuating values. For instance, incest horror is a core value, connubial restriction on the basis of caste is a fringe value for many in the urban areas, occupational ranking according to traditional pattern is an adhesive value and food taboos are frequently fluctuating values. While planning for social and economic development, it is not only necessary to identify the values which are involved to any significant extent, but also it is necessary to classify them in terms of their place in the life of the community, and in terms of their persistence potential. Core values are, in fact, value complexes and cannot be changed without effecting change in a number of constituent values of basic nature. It is not possible to challenge the core values through the ordinary processes of social planning. The adhesive values are also difficult to manipulate, but can be tackled in the long run through social education and changes in the social and material context. The fringe values and fluctuating values are more easy to manipulate, and while one must not ignore them, one should, if necessary, not hesitate to challenge them.

Social and cultural traditions have three different orders of significance in development. Firstly, the value system determines the broad response of the community to the development programme, or where it is consciously taken into consideration, it plays the crucial role in determining the broad strategy of the programme. Secondly, the specific beliefs and practices influence the response of the community to the specific items of the programme. Thirdly, there is the mid range influence, which is a combination of strategy and tactics, and which is more important for planning. But before considering it, a brief notice is proposed to be taken of the first two orders of influence of tradition and culture.

In the third plan report it has been stated as follows with reference to the broad strategy of the development programme "each major culture and civilization has certain distinctive features, rooted in the past, which bear the impress of that culture. India, with thousands of years of history bears even now the powerful impress of her own distinctive features. They are in fact a set of moral and ethical values which have governed Indian life for ages past, even though the people may not have lived upto them. These values are a part of India's thinking, even as, more and more, that thinking is directed to the impact of scientific and technological civilization of the modern world. To some extent, the problem of India is how to bring about a synthesis between the two". The anthropologists and other social scientists, through making use of their technique of study of national character and culture dynamics, can render unique service to the nation in this task of synthesis. A model of synthesis as suggested by V. K. R. V. Rao (*A I C C Economic Review*, January 9, 1964) is worth mentioning in this connection. According to him, the following strategy should be adopted in building up a socialist society in India:

- (1) rejection of violence as a means
- (2) reliance on persuasion
- (3) socialism with democracy
- (4) recognition of the influence of our spiritual heritage
- (5) provision of a national minimum for every one
- (6) equality of opportunity
- (7) social equality
- (8) maximisation of production
- (9) system of scholarship

- (10) public ownership of big units
- (11) maximum attention to children
- (12) spirit of dedication in upper classes

While the above suggestions provide useful hints, it would be necessary to further spell out the exact import of some of them.

Further, it is to be appreciated that development strategy is a continuously evolving pattern, through the interplay of various factors including the basic cultural and social factors. The process of social accounting with reference to specific situational context should, therefore, be continuously carried on by anthropologists and others.

As regards the role of specific beliefs and practices in determining the response of the community to specific items of development programme, I would like to give one or two illustrations from my own experience. In the border of West Bengal and Bhutan, there is a small village Totopara, where lives a small community—the Totos. About forty years ago, the Totos used to practise extensive orange cultivation, but, then, due to some unknown reasons the orange groves died away. In 1958, there was only one household with an orange grove. The Agriculture Department of the State wanted to revive orange cultivation at Totopara, and took up this grove for experimentation with the permission of the owner, Champase Toto. They applied different types of chemical fertilizers to the different trees and put yellow coloured tin plates on the trees indicating the names of the fertilizers applied. After sometime many of the trees in the grove showed signs of drying up and the owner Champase Toto was in great anguish. I was at that time carrying on action research in the area on behalf of the Tribal Welfare Department of the State, and the programme of agricultural regeneration was, in fact, taken up on my suggestion. One day, it came to my notice, that Champase Toto had removed the tin plates from the trees. He explained that one noon while he was brooding over the reason for the drying up of the trees, the high God of the community—Ispha—appeared before him and told him that the trees were turning yellow because of the yellow coloured tin plates. He, therefore, removed the plates and propitiated Ispha by offering two pigeons. It was obvious that he was being guided by the tribal concept of sympathetic magic. Without arguing about the irrationality of the belief, I wanted to roll back the ball to him. I

agreed that after what Ispha had told him, he had no alternative to removing the yellow plates, but then I suggested that he should accept green plates, as the trees may turn green under the magical impact of green colour of the plates. He readily agreed, and it was possible to ensure continuation of his cooperation with the Agriculture Department.

In another case, it was found that though commodious houses had been constructed by the Government for the tribal Rabhas, they continued to live in their traditional type of huts without light and ventilation, they agreed to keep only their cattle and poultry birds in the improved huts. The Rabhas explained that their ancestral spirits would not agree to live in the new type of huts and they cannot shift there abandoning the ancestral spirits. Here, the housing programme, executed without taking into consideration the cultural tradition of the community, proved a failure. These illustrations would highlight the need for operational research with anthropological frame during implementation of projects. This question will be further examined while considering the organizational set up for research.

Now, the mid range influences of cultural and social factors are proposed to be examined. As already noted, planning with reference to mid range influences constitutes a combination of strategy and tactics. The role of such influences can better be appreciated with reference to the key factors of development, which have been postulated as follows in the first plan report: (a) the rate of growth of population, (b) the proportion of current income of the community devoted to capital formation, and (c) the return by way of additional output on the investment thus undertaken. With reference to each of these parameters of growth, social and cultural factors exercise dominant influence in diverse manner. Some of these are indicated below.

## A RATE OF GROWTH OF POPULATION

### I *Biological and Physiological Factors*

Age, specific innate reproductive capacity, sexual desire, coitus rate, conception rate, contraception rate and reproduction wastage are some of the important biological and physiological factors to be taken into consideration.

## II. Socio-economic Factors

(a) *Religious beliefs and ideas* According to Indian tradition, procreation of progeny is considered to be an act of religious merit. There is also traditional abhorrence against human action to limit the number of children. The segments of society among whom the influence of the above religious belief still persists, and the strength of such belief require to be studied by social scientists drafted to assist in execution of the policy of limiting population.

(b) *Relation of fertility rate to age of marriage* In the *Journal of Social Research*, March, 1962, R. P. Sinha has suggested that there may be positive correlation between higher age at marriage and fertility rate. On the other hand Driver has found slight positive association between young age at marriage and fertility (Differential fertility in Central India). Regional studies and community-wise studies are necessary to gain more insight about the matter.

(c) *Socio-economic status and fertility* Spengler in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, January, 1963, has made a mention of the observation of Johnson, that in Europe long observed inverse relation between fertility and socio-economic status has been much modified and in some instances reversed. In Mysore better housing conditions, higher occupational status and higher means of livelihood were found to be associated with an increase in fertility (Raghavachar). In the light of these observations the position, in different parts of India, requires to be carefully re-examined, and the specific social and cultural factors responsible for a particular type of fertility behaviour are to be determined.

(d) *Caste and fertility* Census of U.P. 1931, pointed out that there is difference in fertility by caste. Similar difference by religion and caste has been noticed in other areas as well. According to Raghavachar, highest fertility is found among the scheduled castes and Muslims and lowest among the Christians.

(e) *Idea about desired number of children* Guha found in a U.P. village that according to popular notion the desired number of children is two sons and one daughter. Information on similar line from other parts of India is wanting.

(f) *Relationship between socio-cultural stress and reproduction* According to Henry ('Culture, Personality and Evolution', *American Anthropologist*, Vol 61, p 222) amenorrhea, spontaneous abortion and infertility are associated with personality disorder originating in socio-cultural stress.

(g) *Relation between personality type and family planning.* Malakar found positive correlation of attitude of husband and wife towards joint family and practice of contraception.

He also found correlation of husband and wife's attitude towards education and outdoor jobs for daughters, and practice of contraception.

(h) *Indigenous methods of birth-control.* Indigenous methods of birth control have been reported from villages near Delhi, Madras, etc.

The above list is not exhaustive. It only illustrates, how socio-cultural factors as well as biological factors play vital role with reference to one of the key factors for development, viz., population growth.

In respect of the second key factor of development, viz., investment ratio with reference to national income, social and cultural factors play very important role. Prof. Oskar Lange (*A.I.C.C. Economic Review*, July 15, 1963) has pointed out that for accumulation of capital resources, the social structure is to be adapted to the needs of rapid economic development. Hsu has pointed out that the following cultural factors are significant in this respect: (i) consumption pattern and availability of saving, (ii) pattern of saving, (iii) utilization of resources, (iv) availability of labour, and (v) nature of human conduct.

It is further to be noted that, cultural factors may intervene in the utilization of saving as investment. In a tradition-bound society the saving remains unutilised as jewellery.

As regards the third key factor of development, viz., capital output ratio, an inventory of the social and cultural dimensions involved, has been made by the UNESCO. Research Centre, Delhi. These are as follows:

- (1) adjustment to factory life
- (2) attitude to factory work
- (3) attitude to wealth
- (4) attitude to production
- (5) attitude to management
- (6) attitude to machine
- (7) influence of family
- (8) influence of caste
- (9) influence of traditionalism
- (10) general outlook.

The other factors influencing production are

- (1) social mobility and stratification
- (2) religious influence and preaching
- (3) relation with outside communities and foreigner
- (4) parents' attitude towards status of children and ambition to change it
- (5) influence of educational system
- (6) notion of time and rhythm of living and working
- (7) attitude to work on the one hand and leisure on the other
- (8) attitude to entrepreneurial creativity
- (9) attitude to economic security
- (10) attitude to the existing economic organization of the society
- (11) attitude to wage and use of money
- (12) notion of gain and profit and related attitudes
- (13) attitude to saving and investment as compared with consumption
- (14) attitude to machinery and modernization generally, adaptability to modern technology
- (15) attitude to production viewed socially
- (16) attitude to waste of material and machinery
- (17) attitude to productivity, generally
- (18) attitude to employers
- (19) attitude to trade unions

The above rapid survey of how social and cultural factors interpose in the operation of the three key factors of economic growth, as visualised in the plan, reports would make it obvious that there is need for a great amount of focussed anthropological and other social studies with reference to these parameters of growth. For instance, it would be readily appreciated that the notion of time and rhythm of living and working would influence productivity, but if one is to spell out, how exactly these effect productivity, a good deal of empirical data will be necessary. Similarly, one can easily see that there should be some sort of relation between consumption pattern and availability of saving, but models are to be built on the basis of empirical data to indicate what sort of consumption pattern would lead to saving for investment, and what sort of consumption pattern would lead to accumulation of idle saving under the prevailing condition of culture. In fact with reference to almost every single parameter of

economic growth the models of their social and cultural counterparts are still to be framed, and this seems to be a serious weakness of our planning

It seems desirable to formulate the optimum social structure with reference to every stage of growth. Rostow has formulated five stages of economic growth, as follows

- (a) the traditional society
- (b) the transitional society in which foundation of changes are being laid
- (c) the society in the crucial stage of take off
- (d) the maturing society, in which new methods and outlooks are spreading through the whole society
- (e) the society which has reacted for the stage of high mass consumption

While, with reference to each of these stages, the economic and technological processes have been described, there is hardly much indication of the social processes. Further, the stages, as conceived by Rostow, are of general nature with reference to all the under-developed countries. These are to be adapted with reference to the specific context of India. For instance, it is to be postulated with reference to a particular stage, how the caste forces are expected to behave or what would be the loci of the communal traditions and religious and sectarian movements. It is also to be postulated, what would be the public policy with reference to such factors. The nation has been committed through her constitution to the creation of a casteless secular democracy, but this does not mean that the objective can be achieved by overlooking the caste forces or the religious institutions. For creation of a casteless society, sometimes strategic compromises are to be made with caste forces, so that these can be canalised along desired lines. In other words, caste cannot be wiped away by overlooking it, it is to be withered away by harnessing it. One illustration from the second plan report seems to suggest that caste can be overlooked to the peril of the plan. In the second plan report, it has been stated that "there has not been any marked change in the occupational pattern in India over the last three or four decades inspite of considerable increases in industrial production. Development involves a transfer of part of the working force from agriculture to secondary and tertiary activities"

Now, why there has not been any transfer from primary sector to secondary and tertiary sectors, inspite of the fact that "in agriculture and allied pursuits, the net output per worker is at present barely one fifth of that in mining and factory establishments, and it is one third of the net output per worker in the trade and service sector"? According to the second plan report, this is because of the fact that "the secondary and tertiary sectors have not grown rapidly enough to make an impact on the primary sector nor has the primary sector itself thrown up surplus which would create conditions favourable for expansion elsewhere". This, however, does not appear to be a completely satisfactory explanation, at least, in some areas, there are evidence that other forces may be equally responsible for immobility in the occupational structure. During a survey of the village Mohisgot, situated in the neighbourhood of a large industrial centre in Howrah-Hooghly belt, Gupta observed that there is definite unwillingness on the part of the rural agriculturists to migrate even the short distance to the industrial centre, though there is sharp difference in incomes. The income per farmer from land being Rs 345/- and that from all resources being Rs 545/- whereas it is Rs 1,141/- for a factory worker. In North Bengal and Assam it has been found that the local cultivators would rather recede to more outlying areas than take more remunerative employment under tea estates, work in the tea estates being considered as jobs of the tribals from Chotanagpur, Orissa, Andhra, etc. In all these cases the economic pull is being neutralized by caste tradition.

It appears that even when occupational mobility takes place, caste inhibition is not completely broken, it is only temporarily kept in abeyance. In the vicinity of Bombay it has been noticed that persons belonging to Chaukalsi, Sonkoli and other castes, who migrate to Bombay for work in textile mills try to return back to agriculture as soon as they can accumulate enough saving from their factory income, for purchasing land, on the other hand people belonging to Dhed, Vankar and other castes try to stick to factory jobs, as such jobs seem more to have become part of their caste.

It would be obvious from the above illustrations, that planning on realistic basis would be more facilitated, if for each region, and each stage of development, the models of prevailing social structure as well as the optimum social structure to be achieved are drawn up. While drawing up the models, the following aspects along with others should be taken into consideration (a) caste, (b) religion

(c) sect, (d) education, (e) occupational mobility, (f) nature of elite and centre of social movement, and (g) self-image and the direction of social change.

Uptill now, an attempt has been made in this paper, to make a quick appraisal of the scope and direction of anthropological and other sociological research with reference to the general problems of economic growth and development. It is now proposed to examine some of the specific problems, where anthropological and other sociological studies will be more fruitful.

#### *Models of Growth in Underdeveloped Areas*

In the *Journal of Social Research*, March 1962, Ganguly has furnished some measures of underdevelopment. These are as follows:

- (1) low standard of living
- (2) low consumption or use of mechanical energy per capita
- (3) low capital output ratio
- (4) preponderance of agriculture in economy
- (5) pressure of population on land and consequent disguised unemployment
- (6) subsistence farming and preponderance of a non-monetized sector in economy
- (7) growth rate of income lower than 2 per cent per annum.

With reference to the above criteria, India as a whole can be said to be underdeveloped; but certain areas are more undeveloped than others. In a development strategy, the social characteristics of those areas are also to be taken into consideration; further, the relations of the underdeveloped regions and more developed regions are to be studied according to the model of group dynamics.

It is quite possible that underdevelopment is due to scarcity of resources and not dearth of skill and forward looking elites. On the other hand underdevelopment may be due to dearth of forward looking elites and not non-availability of resources. Underdevelopment may also be related to scarcity of resources as well as absence of forward looking elites. It is obvious that the development strategy for the different categories of underdeveloped region will be different from one another. In each of these, a crucial role will be played by the quality of the elite—political, social and economic. Systematic study of the social loci of the elite will, therefore, be a

pressing need while planning for the development of an underdeveloped area

Historical relation between developed region and underdeveloped region is another dimension of the problem of development. Comparatively developed region may frequently hold a model for the underdeveloped, but historically and otherwise related region, which the latter may like to imitate, but the actual condition of life and resources may not permit such imitation without affecting the viability of the economy. On the other hand the social and political cost of frustration as a result of non satisfaction of the aspiration is also to be taken into consideration. The network of the social and cultural relationship between comparatively developed and comparatively under developed regions should, therefore, be systematically studied in historical depth. This will provide insight about growth orientation of the region as a whole.

Growth orientation should also be studied with reference to the primary focus of interest. It may be economic, it may be technological, it may also be cultural or social. As all the aspects of life are inter-linked, an integrated programme of development may be initiated with any of the areas of primary interest as the vantage point to gradually cover all the other areas. But it would undoubtedly be a better strategy, to carefully select the vantage point with reference to growth orientation.

It is further necessary to classify growth itself. Epstein has differentiated between economic development and economic change. Economic development is merely an increase in the output of goods and services, while economic change is a change in the economic roles and relations. On the basis of her study in two villages near Mysore, she has pointed out that economic development takes place much quicker than economic change.

Economic development or growth can again be of two different orders, one is economic growth by development of local resources and talent, the other is economic growth by grafting of resources and talent from outside. Both these processes have their social counterparts. Growth by development of local resources and talent would imply "induced shift in pre established ends and a directed re orientation of value systems. It requires consequently an intensive analysis of the existing relationships among the various aspects of culture—political, religious and aesthetic—before any kind of prediction can be made of the results that will follow the disturbance of

the balance between them." ("The problems of adapting societies to new tasks"—Herskovits, in the *Progress of Underdeveloped Areas*—Hozelitz). With reference to growth by importing skill from outside Oscar Handlin is of the view that "there is a kind of rough equilibrium among the available technical skills in a society, the social context within which those skills operate and the rest of the economy that they influence. Injection of new skills is disruptive, but it can be stimulating under certain conditions." The most important condition Handlin mentions is whether the new skill injures the status and situation of those who possess old skills or whether it can be incorporated without injuring their status and situation.

It is obvious from all the above that a good deal of insight in social dimension is necessary for formulation of the right strategy for the development of underdeveloped regions.

### *Development of Backward Communities*

To a certain extent there is similarity between the problems of the underdeveloped areas and backward people. There are in common low standard of living, low consumption or use of mechanical energy per capita and low capital output ratio. Because of these similarities, there is a trend of thought in the country that the problems of the backward people can be substantially reduced through development of the underdeveloped regions.

In India, the recognized backward segments of the society are the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. About 50 per cent of the scheduled tribes live in regions where they are the majority population at the taluk level, but there is hardly any area where the scheduled castes constitute the majority. While, therefore, some sort of area approach is possible in case of the scheduled tribes. It is not possible in case of the scheduled castes.

In respect of the scheduled tribes also, it is to be noted that development of their area has not always led to improvement of their condition. In North Bengal, phenomenal prosperity came towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present century, with development of tea-industry; but the local tribals were not benefited. They found their land taken away from them, and many receded to more unhealthy outlying areas; many families were extinct. The numerical strength of the main tribe of the areas was reduced to one-third of its original strength in thirty years. During the last one decade industries have been spread in the tribal

areas of Rourkela, Hatia, etc. But every few of the tribals could find employment in the industrial plants. The lessons of these experiences is that, the condition of the backward people cannot be improved simply by economic development of the regions mainly inhabited by them, they are to be prepared for absorbing the benefit brought to their area.

The first step that should be taken while planning for the advancement of the backward people, is to classify them with reference to their growth preparation. The measures for growth preparation, have to be empirically determined, provisionally these may include (a) pattern of relation between the backward and non-backward communities of the same region, (b) pattern of relation between the backward and non backward communities of different regions, (c) type of leadership of the backward people, (d) literacy, (e) nature of reform movements, and (f) occupation pattern and extent of mobility.

It is also necessary to further classify the backward communities with reference to their internal structure in the following lines

- (a) whether the entire community lives in underdeveloped region
- (b) whether part of the community lives in underdeveloped region and part in comparatively more developed region
- (c) whether the entire community lives in comparatively more developed region

In the first and last cases, there is hardly any scope for manoeuvre in terms of group dynamics, but in the second case it can be examined what is the relation between the segment living in the more developed region and that of those living in the underdeveloped region. It is specially to be ascertained whether the segment living in more developed region is more forward looking and serves as a model for the one living in the underdeveloped region. On the other hand it is quite possible that the segment living in the underdeveloped region preserves a way of life which is considered to be the more pure form of culture of the community and provides a model for atavistic reversion of those living in the more developed area. It is also possible, that because of their difference in living condition, the two segments have virtually dissociated themselves from one and another, and become distinct communities.

The planners are to be aware of these facets of the community life

of the backward people, so that they can adopt appropriate strategies for development

### *Diffusion of Innovation, Agricultural Extension Programme, etc*

Relating to diffusion of innovation, agricultural extension, etc. anthropological studies also are likely to provide significant clues

In addition to economic and technological factors, the rates of adoption of innovations including innovations in agricultural practices are likely to be influenced by the following factors

- (i) Rapport or absence of it between the agency for introduction of innovation and receiving group
- (ii) Felt need of the receiving group
- (iii) Compatibility of the innovation with the culture and value system of the receiving group
- (iv) Dislocation of the existing skill, and position of those who would be adversely affected, in the power structure of the community
- (v) personality orientation of the individuals to whom the innovation has reached
- (vi) Association of the innovation with various prestige symbols acceptable to the community

For adopting correct strategy and tactics in the matter of diffusion of innovation, systematic studies involving culture dynamics, group dynamics and personality structure will have to be undertaken

### *Research Strategy*

With reference to the different aspects of planning the need for various types of research has been emphasized in this paper. Now the question arises, whether there is any procedure which would ensure that the subject matters of research, relevant for development and planning, would automatically receive attention. In other words, is it possible to plan research for planning? In this connection, the role of the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission needs some scrutiny. The Research Programmes Committee was constituted in July 1953 for sponsoring and assisting research on problems of planned development. At its first meeting

held in August 1953, the committee selected three broad categories of subjects to which the programme of research was to be directed in the first instance. These were

- (i) Land reforms, cooperation and farm management
- (ii) Regional development with special reference to problems of rapid urbanization
- (iii) Savings, investment and employment

The committee later on added to the list "problems of social welfare"

For formulating the categories of subjects for the second plan, the R P C set up a special sub committee to consider the requirements of planning and to make recommendations. On the basis of these recommendations the R P C selected the following categories of subjects

- 1 Analytical studies of macro economic aspects of Indian economy, i.e., trends of national income investment savings, intersector balances etc
- 2 Studies in decentralization and industrial dispersal including problems of planning regional development e.g., the minimum economic and social overheads necessary for ensuring decentralized development of cottage and small industries, small town development, etc
- 3 Resources for development, e.g. capital formation taxation and mobilization of small savings
- 4 Analytical studies of cultural change in rural and tribal life
- 5 Studies in change in family structure—urban and rural
- 6 Studies in social hierarchy and leadership (hereditary, elective, etc)

In addition the committee approved the following three subjects for inviting schemes

- 1 Machinery for planning and implementation
- 2 Working of village agencies with special reference to people's participation.
- 3 Problems of public administration and particularly control of public enterprises

For formulating the categories of subjects for sponsoring research during the third plan period, the R.P.C. set up a special sub-committee towards the end of second plan and on the basis of its recommendation the following categories of subjects were approved:

1. Studies of the macro-economic aspect of the Indian economy
2. Studies of regional development.
3. Land reforms, rural development and cooperation.
4. Problems of social change and welfare in relation to planned development.
5. Studies in organization and administration in relation to planned development.
6. Studies in selected labour problems.

The committee has further spelled out the topics on which research is desirable under the above broad categories of subjects.

It is to be noticed that these subjects have been determined by deliberation at the committee level or sub-committee level. Consensus appears to be the main tool of selection. It is doubtful whether such a procedure can be considered to be entirely satisfactory. What is most important is the initial preparation and research at the staff level, so that at the committee level the main task may be mainly that of policy decision and not of preparing an inventory of research topics. It does not appear that the R.P.C. has the requisite staff to carry on research subjects and also to prepare model research designs. As a result, R.P.C. has more played the role of a research promotion body, than that of a research planning body it seems that there should be serious rethinking on this matter.

Coming over to research strategy, it is to be noted that social research problems can be broadly grouped into two categories: (a) diagnostic research (b) instrumental research. Diagnostic research or studies to reveal the various processes of social life also serve as tools for social policy. But, while diagnostic research, helps in formulation broad outlines of social policy, instrumental research helps in devising techniques for execution of social policy. Thus for instance, diagnostic research would indicate what are the customary laws of inheritance of the various tribal communities, but instrumental research would indicate whether the customary laws of inheritance should be codified and if so in what manner? In this connection, instrumental research will take note of the trends of change,

implication of such change to the economy and social structure of the community, key individuals and their role in the decision making processes of the community, attitude orientation of the different segments of the community and so on

It is obvious that, both, diagnostic research and instrumental research are necessary in connection with planning

Instrumental research again can follow one or more of the following techniques (a) survey, (b) interview, (c) participant observation, (d) operational or action research

Each of these has its relevance, according to the subject matter and stage of maturity of the agency through which the results of the research would be utilized in the actual development projects. For instance, unless there is not an enlightened bureaucracy to cooperate, action research or operational research is impossible. While determining the research strategy the cultural and social orientation of the bureaucracy at the appropriate level should also be taken into consideration

### *Evaluation*

The soul of all democratic planning is embedded in self evaluation. Evaluation may be at the following levels

(a) Primary or mathematical computation of the extent of an achievement of the physical targets and analysis of the role of the different factors, *viz*

- (i) agencies of operation,
- (ii) personnel,
- (iii) technique,
- (iv) other factors,

(b) Secondary At this level evaluation is to be made of the result of implementation of the programme in terms of the social and other objectives as visualized in the programme. Suitability or otherwise of the agencies, personnel, techniques, and other factors in terms of their social and other implications will also have to be evaluated

(c) Tertiary At the tertiary level evaluation is to be made of the programme in the light of the impact of the same on (i) the life of the community, (ii) the economic structure, (iii) the total

social situation with reference to the objective of socialist pattern of society.

These three levels of evaluation presuppose, availability of tools of analysis with specific reference to the Indian context. Current evaluation studies show that we have made some progress in evolving such tool; but much still remain to be done.

## Project Planning as Aid to Sound Planning

*L D Joshi*

The objective of this paper is to suggest a rational approach towards planning of projects involving huge investment outlays and the adoption of the techniques used in business for project planning

Students of business management have long been aware that a firm has to undertake two types of planning. Period Planning, which involves a projection of the overall activity of the firm in physical or monetary terms, over a specified period of time in the future, a year, five years, ten years or even longer, and Project Planning, which involves evaluation of alternative projects and decisions of choice

The planning at the macro economic level has also to be considered from these two aspects, but while there is much that is known about period planning at the macro economic level, our five year plans are period plans, and perspective planning is period planning for a long term adequate attention does not seem to have been paid to the project planning. Apparently paradoxical but it is true since "orderly preparation, execution and operation of projects is more difficult and time consuming than the preparation of an aggregative development plan". Yet it is the detailed, step by step preparations of a plan and their phased execution that decides the quantum and quality of returns that come out of the investment

Our planning is replete with instances of 'costly mistakes' in terms of non fulfilment of targets, cost increases and low profitability directly attributable to lack of adequate project planning. Specially when we are short of financial and other resources, it is imperative that careful project planning is done so that the available resources are better and fully utilized

### *Steps in Project Planning*

Project planning may broadly be divided into two stages

STAGE 1. commences with the analysis of different projects involving various "feasibility" studies and ends with the final selection of 'the' project.

STAGE 2. involves careful 'programming' of the project selected, i.e., scheduling of each part of the job of the project so that the entire work is completed in targeted time.

The selection of a project is not an easy job and it requires a detailed examination of the economics of the project. The studies that are needed in this stage may be as follows:<sup>1</sup>

1. Technical feasibility study is an attempt to determine the technical requirements of the project, how well they can be met at what location and the size and technology of the plant.
2. Economic feasibility study is made to determine the economic viability of the project, and involves the estimation of the existing and potential market, production costs and competition.
3. Commercial feasibility study concerns itself with the financial analysis of the project to be taken up and includes the making of capital-costs estimates, assessing working capital requirements and estimating earnings through a forecast of revenues and costs.

After a project appears to justify its existence as shown by these studies, it is finally selected for execution. In this stage, too, careful planning is needed to ensure that there is no interruption of work and all operations are carried out at their scheduled times. This stage of 'project programming' consists of:<sup>2</sup>

1. *Preparing work.* Breakdown Structure, i.e., identification of major items of work and dividing them into their components until work is sub-divided into 'manageable units'.
2. *Work-Scheduling.* Since all activities cannot be carried on simultaneously due to technical constraints or resource limitations, these must be put in some logical sequence. This is done through what is known as 'Network Planning'.

A Network Plan shows in a graphical form the interrelations and interdependence that exists between different items of work on the project. Time dimension can also be introduced along various acti-

<sup>1</sup>For an illuminating discussion of these points, see Bryce, *Industrial Development*, (McGraw Hill, 1960).

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Management Group Committee on Plan Projects, *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, July-September 1964.

vities, thus giving at the same time projected dates of completion of different parts of the job, and also an idea of the critical points in the total performance of the job which might cause trouble. Network planning can also help management in coordinating the efforts of other participants in the project including the contractors, who in their turn can work out their arrangements with sub-contractors.

### *State of Project Planning in India*

A perusal of the reports of Estimates and Public Accounts Committee of our Lok Sabha would amply demonstrate the fact that the most unfortunate feature of our public sector projects has been to pay little attention on proper planning of projects with the result that

(a) *The capital cost actually incurred has been too high, e.g., in the case of Ashoka Hotels Ltd, the annual cost per bed stood at Rs 64,000 as against the normal cost of Rs 35,000.*<sup>3</sup> *In the case of Hindustan Steels Ltd, as against the estimated project cost of Rs 353 crores, the revised estimated cost is now placed at Rs 641 crores.*<sup>4</sup>

It is, of course, true that project cost estimates can never be exact—a certain increase can be due to price rise, yet there is much scope for making efforts to improve them. Surely there is no reason why important items should be omitted from preliminary estimates as happened in the case of Hindustan Steels Ltd, where an item of Rs 120 crores meant for townships, etc., was excluded from the original estimates.<sup>5</sup> Increased capital costs may lead to difficulties in the fulfilment of the plans, make returns from the project less attractive, and creates an unhappy feeling of misutilization of scarce resources, for if the facts were known before the project, probably, it would not have been taken up and resources diverted to a more productive purpose. The accuracy of the whole evaluation of the financial soundness of a project rests on knowing what the project will really cost.

(b) There has been a delay in the commissioning of the project. An idea of the delay occasioned in the actual commissioning of some of the plants (projects), is given below.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Estimates Committee, 1960-61, Report, 213

<sup>4</sup> *Economic Times* December 25, 1964, pp 5

<sup>5</sup> Ramanadham, *The Finances of Public Enterprises*, p. 120 (Asia Publishing House, 1963)

<sup>6</sup> *Economic Times*, December 25, 1964 p 5

	Target Date	Actual Date of Commissioning
Rourkela Plate Mill	May, 1959	June, 1960
Bhilai Blast Furnace III	Nov, 1959	Dec 1960
Heavy Electricals Maintenance Block	Jan, 1959	Dec, 1959
Praga Tools Corpn		
Latho Chucks Project	June, 1963	June, 1965 (expected)
Hindustan Cables		
Expansion Project	Sept 1956	March 1959

Apart from the fact that such delays prolong the gestation period of the project, difficulties are also created for some other project dependent upon it. A number of instances of project delay and the reasons, therefore, are stated below just to show how careful project programming could have avoided the delays and ensured proper adherence to schedule.<sup>7</sup>

(1) National Coal Development Corporation. An order was placed by this Corporation for the supply of two walking draglines at a cost of Rs 1.64 crores, in April 1960. These draglines were to be delivered in February and April 1961, and were to be taken to Bistrampur colliery by a railway line which was under construction and was expected to be completed by October 1960. *The railway line was delayed and was completed only in June 1961.*

The packages of the first dragline were received in time at Barsapore station and stored nearby, pending the construction of the railway line to Bistrampur. The expenditure on storage is not known, but the payment of interest charges to Export Import Bank amounted to Rs 61,000.

(2) Coal Washery at Kargali. According to the contract, the washery was scheduled to be commissioned in January, 1958, but it actually went into operation only in November, 1958. The delay was attributed to the delay in obtaining permission from the State Government for commissioning a rope way, *completion of roads, foundations and drainage.*

(3) Heavy Electricals. *The ancillary plants of the Bhopal project, namely, the bluewater gas plant, the oxygen and acetylene plants, the boiler plant and the testing laboratory were not completed by the time the factory commenced production.*

<sup>7</sup> These instances have been culled from *Economic Times*, December 25, 1964, p. 5.

(4) *Indian Rare Earths* This factory should have been created and gone into production by April, 1950. Actual production, however, commenced only in August, 1952. The delay is stated to be due to *lateness in selection of the site, acquisition of the land and procurement of major equipment from abroad*.

(5) *Hindustan Cables* The programme for the procurement of the machines and ancillary equipment was so phased that the additional machinery would be commissioned by September, 1956. The armouring machine received in September, 1956 could not be commissioned till March 1959 on account of the *delay in placing orders for boiler, the turn table and head guard, and gears*.

(c) There has been no effective control over expenditure with a view to ensuring economy and efficiency. Management control is lax if it feels that there is no upper limit to the expenditure that it can incur, parliamentary control is also weakened since in view of the heavy investment already made, Parliament is nearly forced to agree to it.<sup>8</sup>

### *Suggestions*

In order to remove these deficiencies and make effective utilization of the scarce resource of capital, it is essential that project planning in the public sector be done much more carefully than has been done so far. Techniques used in business management are worthy of emulation. Since project planning proceeds more or less on the same pattern, in all cases, it would be useful to devise a complete programme of analysis and appraisal which might be useful for all projects. This would ensure that all the points regarding the project concerned have been taken care of and given due weight. This would also be a useful check on management performance and lead to better parliamentary control.

<sup>8</sup> Estimates Committee Report No. 103 (1958-59). Quoted by Ramanadham, *The Finances of Public Enterprises*, p. 122.

## Planning as a Tool of Socio-economic Development<sup>1</sup>

V. B. Singh

"The economic impact of the Soviet Union on the rest of the world," says Professor E. H. Carr, "may be summed up in a single word 'planning'. Soviet planning, however, did not come from the minds of Lenin and Strumlin. The need and urgency for a planned economy had been demonstrated by the inherent maladies of the capitalist economy. The foremost defect of private enterprise has been the failure to utilize resources to their full capacity, and the resulting chronic unemployment and underemployment of land, labour and capital.

The early 1930's witnessed the completion of the First Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union and the Great Depression in the capitalist world. But this may have been a mere coincidence; more significant was the discovery of the Keynesian device "to correct" the malfunctioning of capitalism. In this context the essence of Keynesianism is that, when economic activity is low, the state should come forward to accelerate it through public investments. The New Deal of President Roosevelt was a forerunner of Keynesian policies.

However, Keynesian reasoning ignored the crucial aspect of contemporary capitalist development, in that it is no longer competitive capitalism but monopoly capitalism. The giant monopolies manipulate production level to maintain a given price level, which maximizes profit. Therefore, in normal times state intervention in the economic field cannot be an effective check on these giant organizations. Hence, not control, but abolition of monopolies is the solution. If Keynesian devices are meant only for periods of depression, then they are not new. Throughout history, monarchs undertook public

<sup>1</sup>Reprinted from *Co-existence* May 1964, Ontario (Canada), with the kind permission of the Editor.

works to provide relief during periods of economic distress. We are inevitably reminded of the construction of the *Imambara* (Mausoleum) of Lucknow, which was undertaken by Nawab Asfuddaula towards the end of the eighteenth century, as a measure of famine relief. Moreover, the applicability of the Keynesian remedies to underdeveloped countries has inherent limitations,<sup>2</sup> when confronted with the basic problems of these countries. Whatever illusions regarding the efficacy of Keynesianism remained in India were shattered by the end of the First Five Year Plan. Therefore, not the so-called Keynesian planning, but socialist planning is the means for rapid economic development.

Planning is the means for effecting economic development according to the predetermined goals drawn up by the representatives of the people. Thus it is an integral part of a democratic social process. The history of planned economic development reveals that planning cannot be successful unless and until the 'Commanding Heights' (that is, Basic Industries, Transport, Communications, Banking and Finance) are in the public hand. An essential feature of the planned economies has been that the national plans have represented binding directives on the government, so that each plan is like an Act of Parliament, those who implement it are rewarded and those who violate it, punished. Such legal enforcement becomes meaningful only when the scope of the public sector is wide and fully capable of exercising a decisive impact on the movement of the economy. In other words, one may say that without drawing the "Commanding Heights" into the public sector, it is not possible to shape the destiny of an economy. For the private entrepreneurs treat the state directives, in India, as so many pious wishes of the national leaders and follow their own line—the maximization of profit.

In general, it may be said that planning has a four-fold objective: (i) an increase in per capita income leading to a higher standard of living and culture, (ii) rapid industrialization with an emphasis on the means of production, (iii) modernization in the organization and technology of agriculture, and (iv) thus the laying of firm foundation of an economy which guarantees a higher rate of growth. These objectives, however, are interrelated. Without one the others cannot be realized. For example, without industrialization the per

<sup>2</sup>See Singh, V. B. (Ed.) *Keynesian Economics*, Delhi 1956, particularly the contributions of V. K. R. V. Rao, A. K. Das Gupta and V. B. Singh.

capita income cannot increase, nor can agriculture be modernized. The existence of a powerful public sector has become necessary, for without it there cannot be rapid industrialization. Experience has shown that foreign capital, if freely allowed to operate, functions as pumping-out mechanism; the gains of initial industrial investment are not ploughed back. Moreover, the sector in which foreign capital is willing to function is not the one which is strategically important for economic development. For example, foreign monopolies are not much interested in developing the capital goods sector, which is the lever of economic development in underdeveloped countries, preferring instead to produce articles of conspicuous consumption. At best they plead that they would like to develop agriculture, which is the traditional source of employment and income. In this way monopolies perpetuate the old international division of labour imposed on the underdeveloped countries under the impact of colonialism. In the process of planned economic development a balanced growth is aimed at and this, in turn, renders the economy free from foreign influences.

Thus we find that planning is a tool discovered by the socialist economies to utilize fully their resources, and thereby guarantee every individual a decent level of cultural development as well as of material well-being and the opportunity to reap the fruits of his labour. A planned economy is free from violent economic fluctuations; whatever discomforts emerge are cushioned. In the context of the post Second World War period it may be said that a planned economy can give and can receive fraternal aid and makes co-existence not only a theoretically acceptable concept but a practical proposition. The central objective of planning is the maximization of community welfare understood in the broadest human context, including full opportunities for educational, recreational and other types of cultural development. The realization of the great tasks of socio-economic development through the instrumentality of planning, requires a complex mechanism.<sup>3</sup>

1. A central planning authority, with full powers to execute and enforce a given plan. This authority works in close collaboration with parliament and the cabinet. It consists of political leaders, scientists and technicians. Some of the functions of this body will be; (a) to

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lange, O (ed), *Problems of Political Economy of Socialism*, (Delhi, 1962); Dobb, M.H., *An Essay on Economic Growth and Planning* (London, 1960); Yevenko, I.A.; *Planning in the USSR* (Moscow).

work out control figures for the development of the national economy—taking into account the drafts of the Union as well as those of the constituent units, (b) to commission the services of scientific institutions, and make periodic breakdowns, (c) to check the conformity of the long term plans of the Union and the constituent units, and on this basis draw up annual plans, (d) to allocate capital investments for various branches of the economy and the regions, with a view to making it possible for various construction projects to be completed according to plan, (e) to examine plans of designing and survey work, (f) to plan for various branches of the national economy, such as industry, agriculture, and trade, (g) to approve wholesale prices for basic industrial and agricultural goods, freight rates, power rates and retail prices of essential commodities, (h) to make recommendations regarding changes in prices, (i) to streamline cost-accounting, (j) to provide incentives for higher production and (k) to construct long-term and annual plans capable of ensuring balanced growth

2 Planning comprises two opposite tendencies. Centralization and decentralization. Centralized direction is essential for economic development on a national scale, however, the implementation of this direction can be effective only on a decentralized level—state, district, corporation, or village. This assumes a two-way flow between top and bottom. A target for agricultural production can be better set by the central planning if effected on the level of the collective or the cooperative farm. If an attempt is made to disperse production targets over the regions varying in climatic conditions, fertility or pattern of cropping the result is bound to be disastrous. The exact proportion of centralization to decentralization is not to be found in any text book, it is to be discovered by trial and error, even if cybernetics is geared to the service of planning on a large scale. Thus planning is not a system of equations but proceeds on the basis of successive approximations—from less complex to more complex.

3 It has been argued that profit is an incentive and that if its private appropriation is abolished, there will be little or no propensity to produce. This type of reasoning assumes that there could be no other incentive for production except individual profit. This is radically a wicked interpretation of human nature. In a properly organized society, the protection and promotion of collective interest should provide a better incentive for promoting material well

being than individual appropriation of profit. It is against this background that the role of incentives in planning is to be viewed. We have already said that the plan targets are mandatory provisions, but their realization is not affected through administrative methods alone. Various schemes of incentives—the chief pattern being payment by results—are worked out by experts to encourage workers, as individuals and as a group, to reveal their latent capacities in the cause of increasing national production. For various types of economic activities, norms are fixed. Usually, workers are paid fixed wages and extra premiums for output in excess of the fixed norms. In this way individual income and consumption increase along with planned profits.

4. Conquest of time and space has been a reliable index of man's civilization. Planning makes the conquest easier. It is obvious that in planning, time has a role to play. Under planning, production targets are laid over a plan period. Each plan is broken up into yearly, half-yearly, quarterly, monthly and sometimes even weekly phases. Thus, it is the practice in planned economy to have a departmental weekly meeting in the factory, to evaluate the production results realized, and in this light, to plan for the coming week. But it is not always possible to have such rigid time—planning for each commodity, as the period of production for each is not the same. This difference is more glaring in the agricultural sector where the planning of time necessarily takes the form of crop production. An integral aspect of time planning is perspective planning. This affords an integrated view of the national economy in the perspective of the next 20 to 30 years, thus the past, present, and future are seen as a single span.

5. Another essential of the planned economy is the planning of proportions. By this is meant the harmonious interconnected development of all branches of national economy. One of the inherent maladies of capitalism is the periodic disproportionality in the economy, especially between production and consumption industries. Therefore, proportional planning in the national economy operates at various levels, such as between production and consumption; within and between branches of industry in the sense of correlating mining with manufacturing, metallurgy with engineering, spinning with weaving. Proportions must be planned between agriculture and industry; between regions and states; and between accumulation (productive invest-

ment, i.e., an increase in the stock of capital, and non productive investment or the production of durable consumers' goods) and consumption. The fixing of proportions in the various branches is not based on any eternal law. It is a pragmatic approach and varies with the stages of development. But one thing is certain, in the initial stages of planned development, the development of industries producing means of production is given, and has to be given, top priority if economic development is to be accelerated.

6 An inherent advantage of planning is the efficiency of capital is determined not by market forces but of a policy decision of the government. Second, the rate of investment in a planned economy need not be governed by the time preferences of individuals which if obeyed are sometimes apt to hamper the speed of investment for social purposes. Third, a planned economy need not bother about the profitability of a particular investment so long as it contributes towards the greater national and social interest. Lastly, while the mode of allocation of investment among various sectors is *ex post* in an unplanned economy, the coordination of investment decisions is attempted *ex ante* under a planned economy where the central planning authorities are aware of the activities going on throughout the economy. Thus the rate of growth of the national income, the criterion from which the effectiveness of capital investment is judged, assumes a great importance. In the Soviet Union there appear to be two approaches to this issue. One school favours value added and the other favours, cost of production plus average profit, as the criterion of effectiveness of capital investment. These two approaches are not however, exclusive, they are complementary like those of the commodity and income approaches to national income.

7 Investment under planning is not always determined by economic calculus. Since planning is executed by a leadership which combines economic, social and political entrepreneurship sometimes the economic decision is altered on account of non-economic factors. For example, an economically and culturally backward region inhabited by a linguistic and religious minority may draw the attention of the central planning authorities for its socio-economic development and accordingly the latter allocates huge investments which may not be justified strictly by economic calculus. Planning is by definition a social process, therefore, it creates social institutions which favour progress, and removes those which retard it.

These institutions may be social, economic political or legal. This implies that planning is not to be implemented by bureaucrats, but by a creative social force generated by a democratic movement.

8. We have already said that planning, as opposed to a free market economy, aims at the fullest utilization of all the productive resources of the nation. The mobilization of productive resources, no doubt, implies the realization of physical targets—quantitative expressions of planned objectives. But these physical targets are also expressed in financial terms. Wages are paid not in kind but in cash, and, similarly, cash is paid for the procurement of raw materials. Thus physical planning has its financial counterpart. The total value of the commodities produced during a year is the national product, and the monetary expression of its value is the national income. In this way financial planning is only a technique of social accounting. It follows that the physical and the financial plans must balance. Under conditions of scientific formulation of planning this cannot be otherwise.

It is not an accident of economic history that the first country that evolved and implemented planning was itself an underdeveloped country. The history of planning is the history of the transformation of backward country, through extensive industrialization and utilization of modern techniques on an unprecedented scale, into a highly industrialized country in a short span of time. From this experience we may generalize as follows: *the more backward an economy, the greater the need for planning*. It ensures an increased rate of development, and guarantees the swiftest annihilation of economic disparities between nations. Small wonder, therefore, that those countries which won their independence in the post-second World War period have preference for planning, burdened as they were by a predominance of agricultural pursuits within the framework of outmoded land tenures, a scarcity of capital resources and extensive operation of usurious capital, low productivity, dominance of foreign capital in the tiny industrialized sector, lack of a diversified economy, outmoded socio-religious beliefs, and having traits of a 'pluralistic' society are following a programme of economic development which is not pioneered by individual entrepreneurs, but by the national government.

The late Joseph Schumpeter of Harvard University, as a historian of capitalism has summed up the economic model of progress in

the now highly developed countries as the work of individual entrepreneurs through private innovations, and not acts of the national government.

With Professor Myrdal we may conclude "The emergence in underdeveloped countries of this common urge to economic development as a major political issue, and the definition of economic development as a rise in the levels of living of the common people, the agreement that economic development is task for governments and that governments must prepare and enforce a general economic plan containing a system of purposefully applied controls and impulses to get development started and to keep it going—all this amounts to something entirely new in history. It represents indeed an attempt at a complete reversal of what once happened in the now developed countries as described by the *Schumpeterian model*"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Myrdal G., *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Areas*, (London, 1957), p. 80

# Achieving Society and Planned Social Change

*A K. Saran*

In this note I wish to raise a problem which seems to me of considerable importance and to which I think due attention has yet to be paid. This is concerned primarily with the broad basic aims and long range perspective of planned social change and only secondarily, with the detailed formulation and implementation of specific plans. But it is of the essence of planned as distinguished from non-planned change (which, incidentally is not synonymous with haphazard or random change) that there be the closest possible relation and harmony between the broad aims on the one hand, and the details and the working out of the plan on the other. Hence though the problem raised here is confined to the theoretical level alone it has nonetheless immediate relevance to the practice of planning.

In India planned social change is part of what may be called Developmental Planning. The attempt to develop economically is primarily an effort to raise national real income, in such a fashion that continuing growth becomes self sustaining, and, eventually, India can become self supporting in the international market. It is, of course, realized that economic growth and development is not the only aim of our planning and policy, perhaps not even the most important one. In fact, this is, I presume, meant merely, as the infra-structure or basis for the building of a fully 'modern' society. The full exact meaning, context and implications of 'modern' society is clear to no one for modern societies have been analysed in a variety of ways credited with varying virtues and vices. In planning for modernization of the Indian society, we apparently do not want the vices, only the virtues, if possible, of the advanced societies. The picture of the future Indian society is by no means coherently spelled out, but certain things are, I think, clear beyond doubt. For instance, we want a democratic society and a parliamentary

government elected on a multi-party basis on a very wide franchise, we also want a welfare state, the economic organization will be public sector dominated, state regulated and planned (and hence non competitive). Then, social organization will be egalitarian and socialistically oriented. Casteless and secular certainly, also perhaps classless, but I am not sure. Other and more specific features of this ideology can be cited, but this brief reference will serve my purpose. Whether these objectives form a coherent complex is a question of fundamental importance, but here I wish to raise it only in an indirect form. How is this sociopolitical ideology related to the economic technique programme of our plans? In more conventional terms, what is the implicit theory of the relation between social institutions on the one hand, and technology and economy on the other? Do we hold the Marxian view, and believe, that with the maturation of the new mode of production all the social and ideological super-structures will accordingly develop semi automatically? I believe, that, the answer given, will be something in the manner of a snub to the theoretical questions as out moded and purely academic. The approach of the statesman and the planner has to be pragmatic. The country needs a certain type of economy and technology and modern progressive social institutions. The developmental effort, therefore, has to be multi dimensional, where simultaneous development cannot be induced or achieved. The priorities and emphasis should be determined not in terms of any dogma, concerning the relation between economic and social and moral sectors, but in terms of the concrete historical situation, that is, in terms of feasibility. This, if anything more than an evasion, disguised as a rebuff is itself only a theoretical response. In practice we have put the goal of economic development, as defined in the beginning of this note, in the centre of our planning and developmental effort, accordingly, for us, planning social change is, by and large, simply that of overcoming resistances to the projected techno economic development. This is a negative approach to social change which subordinates it to techno-economic changes. Such an approach can be justified only on one of the following theories. Firstly, it may be held that the techno economic and the socio political sectors are cybernetically structured, that is techno-economic innovations and changes will by a feed back mechanism generate not any or random but precisely appropriate socio political institutional and behavioural changes.

Alternatively, we may hold the Marxian view and believe that the centrality, and primacy of the techno economic change, reflects a law of history, and, hence, men as knowers of this law have to bring about the appropriate changes

Nobody, perhaps, holds the cybernetic model, it was mentioned only as a logical possibility. There may be modifications of this pure model but, then, that is where the Marxian theory comes in. Perhaps our plans are based on the Marxian view, perhaps they are not, I do not know. Perhaps there is a third way besides the cybernetic and the Marxian in terms of which the centrality of techno-economic sphere and its relation to socio political and moral sphere is envisaged by our planners. But I do not have any information about it and on my own, cannot think up any coherent theory other than the two mentioned above. There is also the possibility that our planners are not committed to the Marxian theory in its logical entirety and have also failed to work out any coherent alternative.

If this be, in fact, the case, the risks and dangers, it is fraught with can scarcely be exaggerated. That here we have a major problem in the theory and practice of Indian planning cannot be gainsaid. While in this form the problem has not been usually raised in certain other indirect forms it has received considerable attention. A good deal of thinking on Planning has been concerned with the causes of Development. In fact this is the reason why the question of social change has been implicitly transformed into one of resistances to economic development. Perhaps, it can be safely said, that the inadequacy of the purely economic explanation is no longer disputed and the search is for a historic socio psychological theory of planned development.

A recent attempt is that of the Harvard psychologist McClelland. This work is well known and needs no detailed exposition. The main thesis, apart from the methodological problems, is that the single most important factor aiding economic development that could be isolated from the study of diverse societies is a high degree of need for achievement. He defines achieving societies as those which are developing more rapidly, economically. He then shows that a high level of N achievement (Need for achievement) produces an achieving society.

On the institutional level his thesis is that the emergence of a strong entrepreneurial class is necessary for economic development. The entrepreneurial role is defined in terms of (a) Risk taking,

- (b) Energetic and/or Novel Instrumental activity (c) Individual Responsibility, (d) Definite concrete knowledge of results of action, (e) Long range planning and organizational abilities

McClelland then directs his attention to finding out empirically the sources of *N achievement* and ways and means of inducing a high level of this and promoting the growth of the entrepreneurial spirit, and of strengthening the entrepreneurial class. In summary form his findings are: In order to speed economic growth in an underdeveloped country one should seek (i) to break orientation toward tradition and increase *other directedness* (ii) to increase *N achievement* and (iii) to provide for better allocation of existing *N achievement* resources. He then goes into the detailed techniques for accomplishing these aims. Some of the highlights of his programme are: effective campaigning, highest premium on public opinion and mass media of communication, complete change in child rearing practices and of decreasing father dominance, reorganization of fantasy life, and lastly, and most concretely, subcontracting to private business.

There is no time to describe or discuss this programme, and the underlying theory in any detail however, to any one who is acquainted with McClelland's work will be clear that according to him economic and social development of any country today has some how to duplicate the pattern it took in the history of the American Society.

Personally I do not think that McClelland's view and findings are sound nor his methodology logically valid. But this is not at all my point here. Nor do I wish to show how McClelland has failed to reckon with the results of higher achievement *other directedness* etc., as they have appeared on different levels in the American society itself. What I do wish to ask is, is the theory of Achieving Society compatible with our aims and philosophical planned social change? This question is important because there are reasons to guess that in substance McClelland's theory is being accepted in our planning particularly in the context of planned social change that it is likely to be regarded as an alternative to the Marxian (and the impossible cybernetic) model if my guess is not far wide of the mark. It is of the utmost relevance to realize that apart from its internal inconsistencies the theory is incompatible with any possible philosophy of Indian planning for the following considerations.

There are major differences between the historical context of the

American development and the contemporary context in which our development has to take place. No adoption of the American pattern can obliterate the historical differences. The American development took place in the context of free enterprise, religious zeal, pioneering spirit, vast resources, under population, capitalism with underdeveloped and developing nations as neighbours. The Indian development has a very much different context, planning and public sector, massive foreign aid, anti imperialistic movements around the world, a well-developed technology (not always freely available but already perfected), and socialistic ideals.

It may be objected that McClelland has tried to prove the independence of N achievement factor. Though this proof itself may be questioned, the present point is different. The level of N achievement may be independent of socio economic structure, but the problem of raising its level is certainly closely connected with a certain form of socio economic organization and where McClelland comes to consider this question it will be seen that he ignores in his recommendations, the specific context of planned non competition socialist democratic development.

And this brings out another tension between the ideology of the achieving society and our egalitarian ideals. It will be of course immediately pointed out that this was precisely the ideological context of McClelland paradigm of development, the American society. But as every theoretician knows there is an inner tension between the conditions of competition and its consequences, one is that of equality and the other inequality. In other words, there are the liberal and socialist conceptions of equality and the promotion of the entrepreneurial class may be compatible with the former, but not with the latter. Once again the question arises, which is our conception of egalitarianism?

This is bound up with the question of motivation for an incentive to economic development and the problem of people's participation in plan implementation. Here it can be seen very clearly that the latter problem not only importantly differs from that of incentives to growth but it also does not really arise outside the context of democratic planning. In every case it does not arise in the theory of capitalistic development with which the theory of entrepreneurial role is associated.

It is at this point that the incoherence of McClelland's theory becomes serious, even apart from the question of its applicability to

India's developmental planning McClelland formed a high positive correlation between N achievement and other directness. But notwithstanding McClelland's belief to the contrary, it can be shown that other directness and the entrepreneurial spirit cannot work harmoniously for loss of autonomy and creativity is inherent in other direction. In fact, other direction is another name for seller direction in the last analysis for Economics. The aspect of this theory of N achievement cannot be neglected, simply, because McClelland chose to ignore them.

In conclusion let me state, once again the main points I have been trying to bring out.

I have tried to show that planned social change has been usually treated as the problem of overcoming resistances to techno-economic development. That this is about the worst approach to it and is fraught with great risks and dangers of which we are insufficiently aware. Next, it has been argued that the problem really is that of constructing a coherent picture of the future society in terms of which the relation between techno-economic and social change can be determined. This latter being not only a theoretical, but an urgent practical problem of planning.

Lastly, I have tried to show that the images of society of its replacement by that of Achieving Society are seriously misleading and inappropriate, and cannot be adopted by Indian planners, and hence, the problem of defining historically the 'New or Future society' urgently remains.

## PART II

### COMMUNICATION AND PLANNING

## Research Perspectives for Communication Development

*D P Bhardwaj*

Interest in communication research has paralleled our concern for communication problems in social affairs. With unflagging vigour and unyielding interest, an increasing number of researchers and scholars have been engaged in both conceptual and empirical studies bearing upon desired changes in human behaviour involving interaction and communication. In any social system, human organizations, institutions and groups exist and function to achieve certain objectives and to accomplish certain tasks in relation to specified goals. These organizations, institutions, groups, and individuals have to indulge in communication in order to exist and to perform their functions in various fields and in different areas of activities. Without adequate and effective links or channels of communication, it is difficult to visualize how individuals, groups and sub parts of the social system could interact with one another, influence others and in turn be influenced by them. But it is in this process that we are encountered with many bristling problems of communication always pointing to the gaps between what was intended to mean, and what actually was perceived to mean. Communicators at various levels and points try to influence communicatees to respond to their intended meanings, but communicatees understand and respond only partly or incompletely, but never exactly and fully. Many variables creep in this process of communication and impinge upon occurrence of communality of meaning between communicator and communicatee. In locating answers to problems of communication, one has to turn towards behavioural sciences like Psychology, Social Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology which provide insights into realms of cognitive and social aspects of human behaviour. For influencing human behaviour we use language and symbols and signs as vehicles.

sharing our ideas and experiences with others. Knowledge in the field of semantics and linguistics gives us insight into symbols and their meanings in different contexts and situations. And for gaining insights into operational and applied aspects of communication and human behaviour, basic understanding of disciplines like Political Science, Economics, Public Administration, Management and others is indispensable.

Essentially, problems of communication and characteristics of communication research relate to influencing efforts, so that responses given match with intended stimuli. Why humans behave as they do and how communication can make it possible to influence them and thus change their overt and covert behaviour in the desired manner and direction, is the basic theme that has attracted behavioural researches and others belonging to different disciplines. Communication research is still drawing heavily from researches conducted in these social disciplines and is trying to piece together and integrate these research findings to infer meaningful conclusions which could shed light on the dynamic communication process. Communication science is interdisciplinary in character, and is struggling to attain its own vantage position. If it succeeds in developing a systematic body of knowledge, which can be scientifically validated, then it might, in the near future, acquire the status of an independent discipline. Conceptual and empirical knowledge in the field of communication would grow based on theoretical, experimental and pragmatic research studies and their findings. A great deal of research has been done during the last three or four decades in studying the process and effects of communication and in utilization of the research findings for better understanding of communication problems. Much of the research work has been done in fact, in U.S.A. in the field of communication, group communication and mass communication. Although these research studies had emanated to tackle specific problems and had been done within the framework of single discipline, yet the implication of their findings are far reaching and for their applications in our Indian context could be replicated with suitable modifications. At best these studies have been fragmentary, their results sometimes contradictory, and their focus limited. Nevertheless, research work so far attempted in communication development has been quite penetrating, revealing and utilitarian in tackling some of the formidable communication problems. Emphasis on present studies is on both

theoretical and applied aspects, with an eye on uses and gratification, and on need fulfilment. An overview of research in persuasive communication can be enlightening to show trends in research, gaps yet to be filled, and implications of research findings so far gathered. Whereas it would be difficult to present an exhaustive or a comprehensive panorama in a paper serving, only to orient about some aspects of communication research, a few studies might be illustratively dealt with to advantage. In attempting such an overview it might be relevant to indicate the implications of research findings in community development programmes and the need for further research in the Indian context and setting. Perhaps, one of the useful approaches, in such an attempt might be to deal with different key elements in the communication process and then to have a look at the broad and total picture that might emerge.

Research studies pertaining to source of communication have revealed that the audience, image of source affect the audience's interpretation of the communication and its persuasive effectiveness. Sources regarded as credible, trustworthy, expect high in prestige enhance persuasion. The influence of sources has been both extensively and intensively dealt with and studied by the Telecommunication Research Centre headed by Carl Hovland. There is one of the important areas in which research studies could be undertaken in India to know which are the credible sources at various levels of Community Development programmes, what are their characteristics and what effect, such sources, have on what types of audience for what types of messages. Contributions of various components of credibility such as intention, expertness, prestige, trustworthiness, and allied variables in isolation and in combination also present a rich field for investigations.

Various content characteristics have been isolated to have relationships with persuasive communication. Of these, the more widely used and discussed characteristics are mentioned. Two-sided presentation, involving presentation of arguments on both sides of the issue or question, is more effective than one-sided presentation for persuading the highly educated audience as a safeguard against later counter-propaganda. One sided presentation is, however, more effective in persuading the less educated as a reinforcing device. There is need for further empirical evidence to test the validity of these results under varying conditions relating to other key elements in the communication process. (i) Persuasive communication

which explicitly states conclusions is more likely to be effective than those which state conclusions implicitly, (ii) Studies are needed to disentangle the effects of pre-existing attitudes and ego involvement variables, (iii) Communication which employs threat appeals, citing the ill consequences and dangers, is likely to be less effective as the threat becomes more extreme and intense. Recommended procedures presented through communication with minimum threat appeals are likely to be adopted more widely. Content analysis in Community Development communications might reveal interesting findings in this area of threat vs. rewards appeals, (iv) Repetition, particularly repetition with variation, has been found to increase persuasion efficacy, particularly in campaign propaganda. Multiple and cumulative exposure to propaganda has been found to be more effective, but the results are still inconclusive, because at other occasions it has been no more effective than single exposure, (v) Communication which presents ways and means of implementing or 'canalizing'. The existing needs of the audience are more persuasive than communication which suggests to arouse new needs and ways of satisfying them. To create new needs and then to induce, through persuasive communications, the audience to particular modes, satisfying them, is obviously far more difficult task. Research studies in India could be undertaken to ascertain, as to how far communications by extension workers, engaged in Community Development have been able to influence the villagers in canalizing their needs as perceived by them, (vi) The effects of variables such as order of presentation, emphasis, organization, etc., have been studied through numerous studies but collations are needed to make conclusive generalisations, (vii) Whether communication on one hand and climate of opinion and morale on the other have any relationship of cause-effect character have been studied, and the trends seem to be that for facilitating effective communication, healthy climate of opinion and high morale are the pre requisites and not the other way normally.

#### *Media of Communication*

Several media appear to be in themselves varyingly effective as channels for persuasive communication. Besides they have been found to be differently relevant suitable and appealing to different audiences. In real situations and in audiences which are still denied the privilege of reading and writing, informal, personal, face to

face, and oral, combined with visual, communications have been consistently found to be more effective than mass media. The relative effectiveness of the mass media, in reaching mass audiences in view of the inherent characteristics of mass ness of the mass media, varies so widely from one area to another as to defy any high generalization. However, multi mediated communications supplemented by interpersonal, face to face contacts, have been believed to be particularly and peculiarly effective. Certain characteristics can be attributed to each medium to make it an instrument of persuasion. But none of these characteristics has been explicitly shown by research studies to contribute to persuasion. The role and place of traditional media of communication and of both inter and intra village and group channels of communications in developing societies like India in communicating ideas and influencing individuals, groups and communities, in creating awareness and interest in improved practices and modern ideas are believed to be singularly relevant and challenging. Yet, these media and channels have remained untapped both for operational and research requirements. The traditional or conventional field offers a vast opportunity for communication researchers to shed light on which forms of folk media are relatively more appealing and lend themselves for treatment, of which types of substance, or content of messages, and under what conditions and contexts. To what extent folk forms, tempered favourably with newer contents, could be harnessed for motivation and attitude changes.

#### *Communication Media and Type of Audience*

Audience research has been delineated into primary characteristics, psychological traits, and communication habits. Research studies have focussed attention on correlations of these characteristics together with other factors like group norms, goals, values, beliefs, attitudes and other socio cultural sets, with responses to communication. "Diffusion of Innovations" by Everett Rogers is an illustration to this effect. Detailed studies of different segments of audiences in a caste-ridden, socially and economically stratified society, subjected to the impact of political and power influences, as obtained in India, are needed to reveal as to which types of audiences are amenable to influence by which types of communications through what types of media and channels, and by what types of communication sources.

Enough attention has not been given to the element of feedback in the communication strategies. In fact, attitude change studies have been taken mostly as feedback work. Independent research studies directed towards feedback system operative in the context of community and its sub systems are needed to show the working of the dynamic process of communication.

The overview has been only an attempt to map out some of the important contours of the communication territory, which did not include many details and characteristics. The territory is as big, complex, and challenging as the human behaviour. Meaningful research in the field of communication is needed to enable policy makers, planners, executives, extension workers, to communicate better and with effectiveness in their endeavour towards planned social channel. Many variables operate in communication process. These have to be isolated and then given treatments gradually and systematically, till a complete and total model of communication can be worked out.

## Communication of Agricultural Innovations : A Sociological Analysis

V K Mathur<sup>1</sup>

The communication process as an instrument of change begs discussion. The theory that material changes would automatically create desired values stands impartial judgement in a democracy. A simultaneous effort towards material advancement and creation of attitudes to promote this advancement has to be adopted. For this, the content, method and channel of communication require to be perfected. Programmes of production must cater to the national needs of food production, but at the same time a cautious approach towards the farmers' preferences for cash crops is called for. Areas, which have potentialities of being developed into major cash crop areas need not be motivated to change to food crops beyond one-fourth of their total production. Similarly, the non cash crop areas may find a greater emphasis on commercial produce as the base for national and agro industrial production. Psychologically the farmers in both these areas would be happy at the prospects of having their due share of rich money crops. The programme can be closely tied with nutrition education purposefully shifting food habits to a high protein and fruit diet. This content of communication will be a double pronged drive for balancing nations food requirements and the need for industrialization. It would also quicken adoption of new attitudes towards agriculture. Methods of communication need very little theoretical support in the presence of volumes available on the efficacy on extension methods. The dexterity in their correct use is the priority. Much more of controlled and laboratory experimentation in the field of their use would speak of the proficiency of training centres spreading over the country for community development personnel, "A study of agricultural demonstrations

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in Bakshi ka-Talab Block<sup>1,2</sup> over a period of two years attends to the lacunae in a malignant form and varying degrees in the country. The demonstration process requires constant vigilance and scientific procedures for dissemination. Village leaders will have to be trained in demonstration lay out and the official machinery can only be the guide line. In the beginning an alternate revolving of 'farmer leadership' between the official and non official agents of change needs invitation. Ultimately, the official resources must converge on research in the field of traditional agricultural practices and the positiveness of bringing about a replacement by innovations. Many results show that pruning some of the existing practices would brighten prospects. Audio visual media have proved a limited field use with the present resources and pockets of success in agriculture, reimburse faith in individual persuasion. Communication through modern visuals and speech pre determine educated comprehension by the farmer and leads us to the fundamental but slow programme of adult literacy.

### *The Channels of Communication*

The communication channel links the central Government with the small farmer, and has shown slips of slowness and incorrectness. A recent study<sup>3</sup> of communications issued from the State headquarters, to the Community Development Blocks analyses partially the channel of communication. It is evident that official delays and complete non communication of programmes are frequent bottlenecks. It highlights the heavy dependence of community development, personnel on supervision and administration at the cost of acting as a series of links in the communication channel. Majority of workers, bossing the V L W, continue to devote their time to office efficiency and feel that contact with the masses is partially the responsibility of the block extension workers, and solely that of the V L W. It is not easy to bypass the problem of heavy work load on the V L W, and his inability to cope with the enormous task of reaching individuals and supervising demonstration laying from the beginning to the end. It is proposed here to discuss four case studies

<sup>1</sup> A Study of Agricultural Demonstrations in Bakshi La Talab Block—Sharma T. C. Orientation and Study Centre Bakshi ka Talab—cyclostyled for restricted circulation

<sup>2</sup> A countrywide study of the time lag in the despatch and receipt of government orders and circulars by G. D. Blocks Ministry of Community Development for official use

in the field of communication of improved agricultural techniques. These case studies are the result of our experience gained during extension work in the five adopted villages and work in B K T block. These villages help the training staff in maintaining an intimate touch with difficulties encountered in the diffusion of agricultural innovations.

*Introducing Wheat Seed 710 in Village Mampur<sup>a</sup>*

The wheat area in this village is saturated with wheat seed PB 591 and it was decided to persuade a progressive farmer, who happens to be the Pradhan also, to agree to a half field demonstration for the propagation of the new wheat variety NP 710. The superiority of this variety was communicated to the farmer and some other village people during preliminary contacts. It was necessary to convince them that variety N P 710 is rust resistant, prevents dislodging, gives healthy golden seeds and the yield per acre is distinctly superior. A field of  $2/3$  acres was divided equally and the two varieties—PB 591 and NP 710 were given similar treatment. When harvested the total weight of NP 710 was more than that of PB 591 but the seeds of NP 710 were inferior to that of PB 591. The result was that the total produce of PB 591, due to its superior quality fetched more price than that of NP 710. Here we find that although the per acre yield of NP 710 was more it would not fetch more money and hence the farmer would not be convinced. The matter was discussed with agricultural experts but still there is a big question mark. Here the problem is not one of effectiveness of communication but that of positive all-round superiority of a new variety which we recommend. Efforts have been made to find out the results of NP 710 in other areas, but no such reports are available. Probably, we have not reached another spot where such a demonstration to assess the two varieties was carried out. This study places importance on the soundness of research findings and their implementation in the field.

*A Study of Agricultural Demonstrations in Bakshi ka Talab Block<sup>a</sup>*

A study of agricultural demonstrations in Bakshi Ka-Talab Block covered a period of two years 1959-60 and 1960-61. The objectives of this study during the first and second year were

<sup>a</sup> Case study Singh, S. N., unpublished for official use

<sup>b</sup> A Study of Agricultural Demonstrations in Bakshi ka Talab Block—Sharma T. C.—cyclostyled—for official use

## FIRST YEAR

- (i) Laying out demonstrations
- (ii) Follow up
- (iii) Sight-seeing
- (iv) Crop cutting
- (v) Guidance available to V L Ws for this work

## SECOND YEAR

- (i) Planning
- (ii) Part played by non-official agency in this programme
- (iii) Lay out of the demonstrations
- (iv) Follow up
- (v) Sight seeing
- (vi) Crop cutting
- (vii) Guidance available to V L Ws for this work
- (viii) Usefulness of the programme for the cultivators
- (ix) Verification with the cultivators if they have adopted the practices demonstrated in the following season
- (x) Case histories

Block Bakshi-ka-Talab, is one and a half size block and get advantage of a cluster of important training centres in the vicinity. It is revealing to study the conclusions of the final phase of this study.

*Conclusions*

1 Planning of demonstrations at block level was done fairly well. Members of the Block Development Committee at the Block level and of Panchayat at village level were involved in the process of planning but their assistance in this work was limited. The major portion of the work was done by Extension Officer (Agriculture) at Block Level and V L W at the village level.

2 Demonstrations as an educational process were used to a limited extent. No proper sightseeing programme was organized to show the variation of growth of yield to cultivators by majority of V L W. Crop cutting to convince the cultivators and explain them, economic gains, was also not done for all the plots and by all V L Ws. Results of demonstrations were utilized only by a few V L Ws and were discussed in the village Panchayat meetings to educate the farmers of their area. Extension Officer (Agriculture) discussed the results in the meeting of Block Development Committee.

3 Knowledge of the V L Ws about demonstrations conducted in their circle was not adequate. They should be given more guidance and training in conducting the demonstrations.

4 Only 57% cultivators adopted the practices demonstrated in their fields in the following season.

A detailed study of the report confirms further the ineffectiveness of agricultural demonstrations. The normal expectations of a well laid-out demonstration are that one demonstration will disseminate the practice around the village apart from the continued adoption of the practice by the farmer on whose farm the demonstration was laid, which should be a certainty. The fact that only 57 per cent cultivators adopted the practice is disheartening, not in terms of the numerical percentage, but when we come to assess the possibilities of a scientifically laid out demonstration. It cannot be denied that a demonstration which is a failure is not only ineffective but has a negatively detrimental impact on the population. It is for this reason that if a demonstration is laid out its scientific soundness has to be ensured, otherwise it is better to avoid its organization.

#### *A Study of Paddy Cultivation Practices in Garur Block.\**

This study draws out the importance of leadership in the acceptance of improved agricultural practices. It also speaks of the desirable methods of individual contacts which give a fillip and motivation of village leadership as a media of communicating agricultural practices. In the hilly terrains of Kumaon, paddy cultivation envisages difficulties and primarily the acceptance of a green fodder crop (Berseem) by a progressive farmer, Jai Lal led to increased milk production and convinced him of accepting improved methods of paddy cultivation—the programme which was in vogue with the block team. The case study gives important conclusions.

- (i) Programmes of Community Development must vitally improve, the money income of the farmer. Only a quick tangible gain provides the base line for further acceptance.
- (ii) In this case, a green fodder crop (Berseem) brought about a significant rise in the milk production.

\* A case study of paddy cultivation in Garur Block—Pande B M. Principal Orientation and Study Centre, Bakshi ka Talab Block, Lucknow—unpublished for official use based on the writer's experience of working in that block for three years and a repeated study made in 1962-63.

- (iii) Traditional customs and practices impede acceptance of innovations. Care has to be taken while choosing that farmer who would be willing to make a sharp departure from tradition.
- (iv) A good team spirit in the block staff is an essential prerequisite to the introduction of new agricultural practices. This team spirit must be vertical, down to the village and up to the district, and horizontal within the block team.
- (v) Workers on the spot must be allowed initiative.
- (vi) Incentives for better production must always be provided to the farmers.

### *Role Analysis of V L Ws and Result Demonstrations<sup>1</sup>*

This is a study of 14 result demonstrations and the findings enlarge the lack of educational content in agricultural demonstrations. It says that demonstration laying is a mechanical translation of government orders and the V L W neither derives nor gets technical guidance from his superiors.

The process begins with instructions from the B D O who himself has received instructions from sources outside the block. The pertinent one of these are passed to the V L W through the agriculture extension officer who, in turn, provides the minimum technical information, usually limited to the size of plots and fertilizer doses. No further technical help is sought or given.

As with other activities, action is taken to carry out instructions the routine way that at least fulfil minimum essentials of compliance and report. The villager is brought in the process on the lure of free supply and/or other reasons than his own needs. One control and one or two experimental plots are laid out. The crop is sowed by the farmer or his servants. A few intermittent visits are made to the plot by the V L W but without specific purpose. A few neighbouring farmers, and one or two of the block staff on tour, happen to pass once or twice, but no planned explanations are given. When the crop is cut, the differences in yield are reported and generally forgotten. In five cases the crop was not even cut and weighed separately. Fresh instructions start a new but similar cycle.

The V L W fails to see the demonstration as an educational activity. Much of his work consists of a series of physical activities. He

<sup>1</sup> Village Level Workers: their Work and Result Demonstrations, Dube D C, Sutton Willis A. and Gallup Gladys. National Institute of Community Development, published 1960-61.

thinks in the same way about demonstrations emphasizing the "activity" aspect but failing to grasp or enhance the learning or educational dimensions. The pressures towards achievement and the criterion of measurement of progress in the block operations makes it difficult for him to utilize educational methods even when he serves the need for them.

The author has cited from some of the scanty number of research studies available on the subjects of communication of improved agricultural practices to the farmer. The lacunae in the communication process intermingle with social resistances by the farmer, and the situation enters a blind alley.

### *Official and Non Official Agents as Carriers of Agricultural Innovations*

The agents of change play the focal role in the communication of agricultural practices. Their integrity, technical know-how, adaptability to varying social situations and faith in the extension process attract attention of the analyser. Fulfilment of the jobs for which they are employed has to be viewed in the context of the training they have received and the field situations they are placed in. Some of the role analysis studies of official community development functionaries give the following problems for a further probe.

- (i) There is a tendency towards departmentalism and strong attachments of subject matter specialists with their parent departments do not allow them to take an integrated view of the Community Development programme.
- (ii) General administrators, who are deputed for short periods in the Community Development programme cannot make full use of either the philosophy or contents of Community Development programme.
- (iii) Recent shifts on higher agricultural production devolve heavy responsibilities of acquiring knowledge of agriculture on subject matter specialists who lack adequate training.
- (iv) Faith attachment to the programme, of Community Development personnel are meagre and there is a tendency towards routinization.
- (v) There is lack of research to show difficulties of programme implementation, and for the reconstruction of a community development personality.

*Farmer Leaders*

The right type of non official leadership is shy and there is an emergency of power elite<sup>8</sup> not always in the best interests of the programme. The need of the hour is to find a chain of small farmers as leadership groups and agricultural demonstrations on their field only, will enable the majority village population to identify themselves with the effectiveness of improved agricultural practices on small farms. If the emphasis is on agriculture, as it is, the village leader training camp must be chosen carefully to convey knowledge of improved agricultural practices. The current experience is that for some reason or the other the small farmers fail to be included in these camps, and it is considered that it is they who have to become the most potent mass media of dissemination of improved practices. Their participation would ensure their own economic growth and a wide scale acceptance of agricultural practices. It would also answer the criticism<sup>9</sup> that the Community Development programme is yet to reach the weaker sections of the society. The power elite which monopolises the show does not depend solely on agriculture. They have other subsidiary economic and political grounds for class struggle, and occasionally, dissensions within the panchayat. The vast majority of farmers who really matter surround these resource group<sup>10</sup> leaders and ultimately the benefits come to the leaders and not the followers. An important bottleneck in dissemination of new agricultural technology, through village leaders, is that our training methods during leaders' camps fail to communicate the advantages of improved agriculture—not that we do not tell village leaders about improved agriculture but we often fail in communicating the total knowledge. Eventually, this failure results in the incompetence of the village leader either to practise the method on his own field or to disseminate it effectively. Village leaders who are associated with the Panchayats by virtue of having been elected, have a tendency of getting lost in the melee of statutory aspects of panchayat working and their contribution to increased production in the village is nominal. Individual psychol-

<sup>8</sup> Unesco Study Group in Cyprus—Social Pre requisites of Economic Growth—National Herald Magazine Section

<sup>9</sup> Report of the committee appointed by the Government under the Chairmanship of Jayaprakash Narain

<sup>10</sup> Paper on Resource Groups—Sharma K. N., Department of Sociology IIT Kanpur unpublished but circulated for opinion by National Institute of Community Development

ogy and built in values in the social system are not always congenial for the promotion of the right type of attitude among village leaders which would ultimately increase agricultural production. The contemporary social values do not allow adequate feeling of pride to the village leader who lives for the sake of increasing agricultural production in the village. Even today, agricultural cultivation is of an individualistic nature and the maximum frequency of inter change of ideas regarding agriculture among village people take the form of telling one another about the wraths of nature and failure of crops. Very few of them, nay none, discuss scientifically the factors which have been responsible for a better yield on an individual farm. Many of the farmers may wish to keep it a secret and enjoy the solitude of better production. There is a constantly growing feeling of competition, and one fails to see universal jubilation in the event of an overall increase in village production.

It would be extremely useful to elicit opinion on the results of crop competitions, and find out the social position of the competitions in their village hierarchies. Increased crop in the field of high class village leaders does contribute to the national production, but we cannot be too sure that it also promotes the desired community feeling, for increased production, within the village community, or that it ignites a spark of new knowledge in the village community. The interdynamics of communication of improved agricultural practices in a village is of a priority importance, and to ensure a free flow of innovations the cooperative attitude in the village has to become the base. The creation of this attitude is the domain of the educator, the extension worker, and the proper village leader.

Some important areas of recommendations emerge from what has been said above.

- 1 Scientific and technological soundness of communicating an improved agricultural practice have to be ensured. This includes the most important extension method of demonstration laying

- 2 In order to build up village leaders, as media of dissemination of improved agricultural practices, caution has to be exercised by selecting only those who really represent the majority—socially, economically and culturally and become the focus of attention, because he is the least assertive competitor in the individualistic village society.

3. Fundamental research in agricultural laboratories must take into account the social and economic superiority of the innovation over the regional and traditional agricultural practice. This would mitigate the loss of time in breaking social barriers of tradition and long practice.
4. Role analysis studies tell us that there is a need of more field workers than supervisors and coordinators.
5. A recasting of community development programme can make them agricultural biased.

## Diffusion of Innovations : A Case Study

*B M Pande*

Kumaon hills in Uttar Pradesh are enshrouded in mystery, beauty, natural splendour, breath taking heights, past glory, national danger and extreme poverty. The year 1952 gave birth to one of the 55 community projects spread over the entire country. This case study of improved methods of paddy cultivation, initiated as one of the many community development programmes is based on the present writer's experience of having worked for about two years in the Garur Block and later visiting the area again after a considerable lapse of years with the specific intention of collecting data to assess the role of rural leadership in the diffusion of improved agricultural practices. At the time of this study the Govt hierarchy of community development project comprised the Deputy Project Executive Officer assisted by a number of specialized subject matter extension officers ultimately helping the multi purpose village level worker. The programme of community development is all pervading and each subject matter specialist is an effective link in the multi-facet approach of the programme.

### *The Story Begins*

Garur Block, lying between a height range of 3 000 to 5,740 feet above sea level, was the bus terminus—43 miles from Almora and 110 miles from the last railway point, Kathgodam.

Agriculture is the main stay of this area. Being a valley Garur grows excellent paddy crop. People cling to the old practices of growing this crop. When asked to adopt new improved methods you would invariably come across replies as "No let us not do it. God will get angry." "Some death might occur." "Our cattle may be affected" and so on. They would only do it if they sacrificed a goat first with a view to ward off any such danger. Two instances of this

mental reservation and socio psychological attitudes can be safely cited here

In a village a young boy, the only son of his widowed mother, agreed on the advice of a V L W to transplant rice in his field as a trial. His mother and many other elders of his village discouraged him from taking on this new step. But, enterprising as he was, he laid out a demonstration of J P M C without taking recourse to the old tradition of sacrificing a goat. As the demonstration plot was showing its effect, he had to go away to Haldwani for some important work. As ill luck would have it he died of a snake bite. Till to day the villagers are allergic to any sort of innovations.

Similarly in another village a farmer planted berseem in his fields to serve as green fodder for his cattle. The crop was rich and when fed to the buffaloes increased their milk yield. The unfortunate coincidence was that one of the buffaloes got a fractured leg and the farmer attributed this incidence to the growing and feeding of "berseem" to the cattle.

Such was the condition of this area when the community development workers had to work against these agebound social attitudes.

Thakurs constitute the majority population, and Brahmins and Harijans are in a small minority. Polygamy is economic and apart from the rather strenuous operation of tilling the soil the women (numerically more) cleverly bear the burden of other agricultural operations and tending the cattle. The comparatively free time available to the male is utilized for running small and scanty wayside shop or working as coolies. The joint family is the primary source of social security till petty quarrels (mostly among women) completely break it. Political consciousness infiltrated the area with school education higher literacy and the pre independence national struggle. The economy of the people flourishes on agriculture and business. Indo Tibetan border and tourist traffic ensure the latter.

Paddy and potato are the main crops and subsidiary avenues like the export of forest produce, herbs and fruits add (though meagrely) to the income of the people. The total area under paddy cultivation in Garur block is 6249 acres out of which 2743 acres is irrigated. This case study bases findings on 800 acres of paddy growing in irrigated land. The government in 1953-54 extended a net work of metalled roads which encompassed areas beyond Garur terminal and plunged into the Himalayan fastness upto the Indo-Tibetan border. Consequently, the erstwhile monopoly of Garur bus ter-

minus dwindled and the one time lucrative shopkeepers leaned heavily on agricultural production

### *The Local Leader*

Jai Lal, a goldsmith by heredity turned into a farmer by choice and partial circumstances, was the initial local contact leader for the Garur Block during the early years of community development. The teething troubles of block administration were reduced due to a number of physical facilities, in the form of housing, pack animals and sundry arrangements, enthusiastically offered by Jai Lal, and in turn, a close association between him and the block administration provided the base for a largely diffused adoption of the well known Japanese Method of Paddy Cultivation. Jai Lal's ancestors were residents of Almora, his grandfather migrated to this area in search of a lucrative business in goldsmithy. His father devoted a part of his time in small enterprises (including goldsmithy) but Jai Lal after inheriting family pursuits for a part of his early life faced crisis due to rising gold prices and lean purchases. Jai Lal owned sufficient land in the Garur valley and the block administration through a series of persuasion channels, made him agree to play the role of an innovator by adopting recommended agricultural practices. Since then, Jai Lal's interests have been varied and he has been adapting himself with the moving times and business opportunities. While he has remained religiously attached to the traditional family profession by maintaining a small goldsmith's shop, Jai Lal has been diverting his energies towards occupations promising quick profits. Today, Jai Lal clings to agriculture with the acumen of a businessman and concentrates on the prospects of winning crop competition prizes. He also finds time to take petty contracts and add to his agricultural income.

### *Innovator's Role—An Aid to Leadership Development*

In October, 1952, the extension workers of the block team made Jai Lal their focus of attention and through a series of meetings tried to persuade Jai Lal, who agreed to try 'Berseem' cultivation on a portion of his land—'Berseem' hitherto unknown in this region besides being a good green manuring crop is an excellent green-fodder for increasing milk yield. A demonstration was laid out on Jai Lal's plot and when Jai Lal's cattle were fed on the first harvest after 45 days, the milk yield went up from 1 to 1½ seers. This

interested him and Jai Lal made searching enquiries about further use of this crop which was advised to be ploughed in. During this period, usually, no cattle fodder was available in the hills and the innovation promised brightness. Once a portion of the rich berseem crop had been ploughed into the field, Jai Lal by long and tiring stages was initiated into the adoption of transplantation of the paddy plants on the lines of J M P C. Through careful nurture and advice Jai Lal grew 70 maunds of paddy in one acre of land—this soaring high production level is uncommon even in the plains and the Directorate of Agriculture were pleasantly surprised. Ultimately Jai Lal agreed to enter a series of crop competitions and became the proud recipient of a number of prizes.

#### *The Innovation is Adopted by Other Farmers*

Programmes of "Berseem" and "J M P C" were thoroughly discussed in the meetings of the project advisory committee, to which Jai Lal was nominated (in view of his innovation role) as a coopted member. The adult literacy teachers talked about the innovations in the night classes. A wide publicity was done at the time of the annual Kisan Mela. By now, Jai Lal had begun taking interest in other programmes of community development—artificial insemination, planting Bombay green variety of banana and bringing about a change in crop rotation. In 1956-57, Jai Lal again entered the state level crop competition and won three prizes on three fields in the name of his brother and aunt. This resulted in inspiring five more farmers to enter the competition and by the end of 1961 as many as 8 farmers entered the state level competition. In 1961-62 Jai Lal failed to secure the prize which went to Pan Singh growing 114 maunds 3 seers and 11 1/2 chattaks of paddy per acre. At the time of this study Jai Lal was hoping to break this record.

There is a regular and healthy competition amongst the farmers of Garur Block to excel each other's production. Old varieties of paddy are giving place to new. A local variety 'Thapachini' has been substituted by China 4. A latest variety known as Koesing 22 is being adopted by most of the farmers for the purposes of competitions as this is a hardy variety, the grains are weighty, the crop ripens late and does not lodge. In addition to normal manuring, Jai Lal introduced a new system of using leaves of local plant known as "Chinese tallow". This grows abundantly in the area. The foliage is rich, the leaves are soft and succulent. Many other farmers have also

adopted this practice. Almost whole of the area is now sown by J M P C. The practice has extended from Garur Block to other adjacent blocks. The average yield of the area has risen from 25-40 maunds per acre to 60-70 maunds per acre and one can witness an unending rush of farmers at the block office filling up forms for the state level competitions.

### *Tangential Impacts of Diffusion*

"People want the best cloth and most of the fine cloth is now sold to the general public" said Kishan Singh (Chairman of the Block Committee) while giving impressions about the effect of improved methods of paddy cultivation. This man, owning a cloth shop, went on to say "we do not import paddy any more, on the other hand paddy is being exported to the tune of Rs 25,000/- per year." When asked as to what other advantages had accrued on account of increased yields of paddy he explained that the farmers had adopted better techniques of cultivation for other crops also. Further he said "there is a general improvement in all walks of life." In the wake of success in one direction the mass of the people started accepting other programmes of community development. The present extension officer (Agriculture) frankly observed "Now we go to Jai Lal and other progressive farmers to seek advice in relation to paddy cultivation."

### *Analysis*

- (i) In the programme of rural development it is necessary that we start programmes which vitally touch the major section of the community.
- (ii) A quick and tangible economic gain works as a spur creating a widespread effect on all walks of life.
- (iii) Traditional customs and age-old practices are great barriers in the diffusion of innovations.
- (iv) An integrated team spirit in the block staff is the *sine-quanon* of success.
- (v) The extension worker on the spot must be given enough of free scope to deal with the programme rather be asked to depend.
- (vi) Incentives for good work should be provided to the extension workers and the farmers.

# Structural Resistance to Communication

*H. C. Srivastava*<sup>1</sup>

## THE THREE-STEP FLOW OF COMMUNICATION

The pre-requisites, mainly emerging from the socio-economic structure, make the lower majority of rural populace, not only resistive but apathetic to planning communication. The three-level model analysis constitutes the steps of flow as—input, germination and spray. Of the two main resistances, inner and the structural, the author emphasises the latter. A few suggestions are mentioned in the end.

The three-step flow of communication is a hypothesis to diagnose the causes of resistance to communication<sup>2</sup> in planning set-up, in rural areas. The hypothesis suggests a changed image of modern rural society. By enforcing through an army of trained administrators, the Government spends a large amount of money on the implementation of the Community Development plans, but the out-put of the plan-machinery does not justify its input. It is strange to note that almost 60 per cent of people wish to alienate themselves from the developmental activities.<sup>3</sup>

Mass media are not so influential as the opinion-leaders who channelize communication among the inter-connected individuals.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The author gratefully acknowledges the debt of his colleague Prof. Ranganath and the students who have kindly consented to permit him to use data from their research works for modelling this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Communication has been defined, in general, as the process of transmitting meaningful information between individuals.

<sup>3</sup> Vijai Kumar: Factors responsible for failure of C. D. Programme (Hindi), Post-graduate dissertation, 1964, based on Aurad Block, Varanasi.

<sup>4</sup> 90 per cent of Indian radio listeners like exclusive entertainment (Mainly film items). 75 per cent hear only news bulletin; the majority have an aversion to Air Propaganda for development as boring and lifeless content. From Km. Meena Gupta's Content analysis of Radio Programmes (Hindi) M.A. dissertation, Kashi Vidyapith, 1965.

*The Inner Resistance*

These mechanisms are as We don't know, we are not told, we don't care to know, etc, resulting from traditionalism, scepticism and fanaticism of people

*The Structural Resistance*

It includes statements like we know, we appreciate, but we cannot turn to the innovations because of property and monetary pre requisites to enjoy the fruits of planning In our view, the structural resistance is the villain of the plan tragedy, it is detrimental more in degree than the former The inner resistance mainly ideational in nature, will itself wither away, if the structural resistance, mainly economic in nature is broken down The effective mass participation is blurred because of the material pre requisite to participate in the structure of planning activities The lower stratum is found saying that they know what is beneficial for them but they cannot educate themselves for a new outlook because of lack of resources, they cannot enjoy technological innovations and other facilities in absence of an investment capacity Women would not like to learn knitting and embroidery because they could not purchase things to materialize the learnt art These are the versions of A D Os and V L Ws Communication barrier and the inability to participate effectively are the two complementary factors It takes the form of a grim struggle if a creative minority from the lower stratum decides to participate in planning programmes

**THE THREE STEP FLOW A MODEL ANALYSIS**

The opinion leaders are like social molecules around them clusters the advice advisee dyad, in group or in atomized situation Level differentials impart information and training to them to channelise the communication The three steps flow model, derives its key terms from agricultural analogy

**THE INPUT STEPS** The communication contents imparted from trained centres to the trainees

**THE GERMINATION STEP** The trainees after acquiring the official roles function as opinion leaders to impart the content to the rural elite

**THE SPRAY STEP** The rural elite functions as the third step of the flow by exercising the real pressure dynamics to manipulate the

consent of villagers in general. They are the pivotal link in the process of decision making.

Our studies are confined only to the germinator, and the spray level of the communication, though Prof. Shastri is of the opinion that the original difficulty is at the initial level of training which is infected by alien concepts, symbols, and the whole bureaucratic way of conditioning its human material. We have not probed into this aspect of communication.

### *The Opinion Leaders at the Germination Level*

The socially active leaders are the A D Os and V L Ws of a Vikas Khand. A research probe was done to know the factors responsible for the failure of Community Development programme, with particular reference to new methods and techniques in agriculture.<sup>5</sup> What are the bottlenecks in communication of the acceptance of the innovations? The study reveals that 51 per cent of the people did not possess any workable knowledge of these methods and implements. They liked to stick to their traditional way of agriculture, 38 per cent of the respondents regarded the age-long agricultural methods as more economical and convenient than the new ones, 41 per cent found the new methods, as expensive in use, beyond their financial capacity. But above 70 per cent of the people told that the official could not explain properly to them the use of the new technological innovations. The V L Ws confessed that they, did not get easily "the demonstration plots" to demonstrate and inspire confidence in villagers for the new method, and techniques. Sometimes, their ruin in absence of competent guidance, becomes a lesson for future, and others to beware of them. Furthermore, the structural resistance enhances the vulnerability of the cultivators to use the costly implements, or submit sureties to qualify in order to get loans or grant in aid from the Vikas Khand. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of villagers still finds the age-old traditional agricultural methods convenient, economical and certain.

The structural resistance, in face of the bureaucratic pressure, for the achievement of the targets, make the whole plan machinery unreal and a paper exercise. The official machinery relies upon

<sup>5</sup> Smt. Srivastava, *The Power-elites* (Hindi), Post graduate dissertation in Kashi Vidyapeeth, 1965.

the upper strata of village population to communicate the programmes and get them executed or manipulated through them.

The opinion leaders at germination level find rural people, with whom they interact in communication, as ignorant, dogmatic and poor. Some B.D. Os. and D. P. Os. have admitted that people are not motivated at the 'cosmopolitan level'. The local politicians and pressure groups are motivated to cooperate for local and ethnocentric ends.<sup>6</sup> The common man remains outside the communication complex. The officials have admitted that the planning targets are over ambitious in comparison to the possibilities, potentialities, and initiatives of the people.

#### *The Opinion Leaders at the Spray Level*

At the third step of the communication emerges the new leadership from the voluntary, semi-official organisation and group structure, like Pradhans, Sarpanchs, Pramukhs and Gram Sahayaks. The organizational level, from the below, are youth organizations working centres, Panchayats, Samitis of Kalyan, Krishi, Sahakari, and the Kschetra Samit, etc. The communication flows through them. The rural leadership patterns are changing.

The Community Development programme is mostly spoon-fed and lacks a purpose. It has not developed into a people's programme. It is making efforts to create a new leadership in villages with a view to inspire people for taking a new way of life. These opinion leaders are most important factors in manipulating the general consent, and exercising power. They are being tackled by the various A. D. Os. for the success of the planning activities. The aims and objectives of the projects are, first, communicated to these opinion leaders by the officers. Afterwards, they are supposed to spray the communication content among the masses to motivate them. We shall note the changing patterns to assess the composition of these opinion leaders.<sup>7</sup>

- (i) The upper class and upper caste clusters (41.6 per cent) still dominate the significant leadership.
- (ii) The middle income-group (29.4 per cent and the upper income group (21.5 per cent) hold the pivotal leadership.

<sup>6</sup> Smt Shila Srivastava; *The Power-elites* (Hindi), Post-graduate dissertation in Kashi Vidyapith, 1965

<sup>7</sup> Rangnath; *The Changing Patterns of Rural Leadership*, Doctoral dissertation submitted in Lucknow University, 1964, under the guidance of Prof. R. K. Mukerjee

- (iii) The middle age group, i.e., the matured age-group, is readily accepted for active rural leadership
- (iv) Young educated persons are emerging as leaders and advice givers

On empirical evidence, Prof Rangnath concludes that within a decade and a half, beginning from 1947, "The process of democratization of rural polity and launching of new development schemes have brought such a change that the land-lords—and the rich are fast losing their power and influence." <sup>8</sup> He believes that the political parties are not active adequately in villages, in the sense, operating under democratic context. The leaders coming from political parties are not very well respected because of their bickering in election contest and frames of local politics.

Women have not come to the fore. By and large, the active leadership in villages is a male affair <sup>9</sup>

It is the dilemma of democracy, in India, that it has revived erstwhile dormant traditional group loyalties to the fore. Our findings are that the present rural opinion leaders are responsible for selective communication or communalizing the cosmopolitan content of programmes. Benefits are enjoyed by their favourites but penalties are shared by all.

The planning set up needs advice given and guide type of functional leadership. A leader, of whatsoever high or low degree in socio-caste scale, should be mindful of the problems and rights of all. This understanding needs a socio-political commitment on their part because the rural political leaders are more active in exemplifying group loyalties than adhering to party principles <sup>10</sup>. A code type minimum of unanimity for plan execution is essential on part of citizens in general. The political leaders of the country may take a positive lead in this direction. An atmosphere of homogeneity is necessary for the free flow of communication at the spray level.

Without going into the organized inefficiency of the planning bureaucracy and the pressure of local politicians over it, we may suggest the following

<sup>8</sup> *Op Cit*

<sup>9</sup> *Op Cit*

<sup>10</sup> Dashrath Singh *Rural Elite (Hindi)*, A study of villages of Azamgarh, Post graduate dissertation, 1964

- (i) that the government should probe into the causes of structural resistance to remove the psychological and behavioural barriers in acceptance of the communication
- (ii) that the staff strength at the germination level should be increased to provide individual attention.
- (iii) that the training should be given through national symbols, functional role of language and concepts
- (iv) That a political unanimity for the plans should be achieved on a national scale.

## The Process of Opinion Change

*Mushtaq Ahmad*

We can discuss under the title of the paper of the seminar any of the major variable of most of the communication models. I wish to limit the scope of this paper to the discussion of the process of opinion change and effectiveness of the 'source' in changing opinions and attitudes, as developed by Kelman<sup>1</sup>, and suggesting some action research, to determine the characteristics of the source in a communication situation in rural India. It is presumed that because of the cultural factors of certain characteristics of the communicator may play an important role in changing opinion in India, if the 'credibility' variables as defined by Hovland are found to be effective, or new variables such as sincerity, honesty and self-example are also found influential in changing opinions. The study of the effectiveness of the characteristics of the communicator is more urgently needed to build an effective communication system, as we are trying to hasten the process of modernization. Our communicators have to make assertions usually incongruent with the practices and social values of most of the receivers. It is just possible that when the receiver is exposed to messages incongruent with his practices and beliefs, instead of changing his opinion, he takes recourse to selective avoidance or selective forgetting<sup>2</sup> or he might try to achieve balance by developing a negative attitude towards the communicator or the concept. (Newcomb)

It will, therefore, be helpful to a communicator to understand the process of opinion change according to Kelman's theory. It will be well to bear in mind that by 'change' Kelman means both

<sup>1</sup> Kelman, H. C., Process of opinion change, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol 25, Spring (1961)

<sup>2</sup> Festinger, Leon, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, Stanford University Press 1962, 53-59

public acceptance of an attitude and private commitments about an attitude. The author is also entrusted in the conscious effort of one person to change the opinion of another. Since many agree that this is what exactly communication is, Kelman's theory of opinion change becomes a useful tool for communicators to predict or explain the effectiveness of their persuasive messages.

Kelman calls the process of social influence leading to opinion change as compliance, identification, and internalization.

Compliance is likely to occur when the communicator or the source or the influencing agent controls the means of the receiver, or when the receiver hopes to receive a favourable reaction from the source. The 'altered' belief will only be at the public acceptance level and is not likely to be accepted privately. The receiver will give the desired response so long as the surveillance of the agent is felt, or so long as he knows that he is under conditions in which his behaviour can be observed by the influencing agent.

Identification is the middle ground. If the influencing agent (an individual or a group) is attractive to the receiver, he will try to adopt the behaviour of the individual or the group with which his self-interest lies. He might try to play all or part of the role of the agent; he will attempt to be or like the other person and define his own role in terms of what is expected of him to maintain a relationship with the agent conducive to his self-interest. The behaviour of the receiver does not depend upon the power of observation of the agent. He is not mainly concerned with pleasing the other as in compliance but is 'concerned with meeting the other's expectations for his own role performance'. The opinion adopted may be both on the public and private level of acceptance. It will, however, remain tied to external recognition, and dependent upon social support. The response will be given so long as the source is found attractive or in other words the relationship conducive to the self-satisfying role which he wishes to adopt.

Internalization can be said to have occurred when a person accepts the induced behaviour because it is congruent with the value system of the individual. 'It is the content of the induced behaviour that is intrinsically rewarding here.' He adopts the behaviour because he finds it relevant to his own values and helpful in the solution of his problems. He might accept the recommendations of an expert after some modification to suit the unique conditions of his life. The acceptance of the behaviour does not depend upon

the power of observation of the agent or upon his attractiveness. It is an internalized behaviour. The response is given because the content of the induced behaviour is found intrinsically rewarding and the agent is found creditable.

We are planning for a new India, which in addition to the physical changes in the conditions of living will mean helping the people to form attitudes and develop a value system congruent with modernity. This is essentially a problem of communication. Our communicator will be concerned with the process of opinion change leading to internalisation of beliefs and not with compliance or identification, and according to Kelman the credibility of the communicator plays the decisive role in the internalization of beliefs.

What are values of the variable 'credibility'? In other words what are the characteristics of the communicator which influence the receiver to adopt the practices, attitudes and opinions he wishes him to adopt? Hovland<sup>3</sup> has stipulated that these are both the 'expertness' and the 'trustworthiness' of the communicator. A communicator might be regarded by the recipient an expert of the subject, a source of valid assertions, and capable of transmitting valid statements but may not adopt the induced behaviour if he suspects his intentions and motives. Many a literacy teacher has to face the rebuke of an unmotivated student when he goes out to persuade him to come to the class, 'Go away you have to teach because you are paid to do it'. Therefore, the adoption of the induced behaviour, it also becomes necessary that the recipient has confidence in the communicators intent to communicate the message he considers valid.

The characteristics related to expertness may be the age of the communicator, especially in cultures, where age is associated with experience, his training, his position of leadership or his similarity to the recipient. 'An individual is likely to feel that persons with status, values, interests, and needs similar to his own sees things as he does, and judge them from the same point of view.' Regarding the trustworthiness of the communicator, one of the most general hypothesis is that if the recipient feels that he has a definite intention to persuade others he is likely to be perceived as having something to gain for himself and his trustworthiness goes own.

<sup>3</sup> Hovland, Carl. et al. *Communication and Persuasion*, Yale University Press 1963, 21-22.

Few systematic research have been made to determine the values and the relative effectiveness of these two variables

Let us turn to the Indian scene. Does the majority of the intended illiterate individuals know that the agent of change is an expert of the subject and is entitled to make the assertions he is making? It might be made known to him that the agent has been 'trained' to hold particular opinions, say certain things possess some facts, but does this knowledge about the training of the agent necessarily give him the status of an expert communicator in the eye of the recipient? Most of our agents of change are paid government employees. They might say or do certain things because such behaviour has been 'planned' for them. Does their official position and their 'planned behaviour' affect their trustworthiness?

In addition, to the above two characteristics of the source are there other variables which are equally or even more important in the internalization of opinion and beliefs because of the emphasis which is laid in the Indian culture on certain quantities in the behaviour of person? I am specially referring to 'sincerity' and 'self-example'. Morton's study of Kate Smith's broadcast for the purchase of War Bonds<sup>4</sup> is well known. On September 11, 1943 she broadcasted for 18 hours. People all over America listened to her and purchased War Bonds worth \$39,000,000 as a result of her persuasive appeal. One of the main factors of her phenomenal success was the high degree of sincerity attributed to her by her listeners. 'she really means anything she ever says'. How high is the correlation between the sincerity of the agent of change and the acceptance of the induced behaviour as compared to the creditability variables of the source and change in the Indian context? Perhaps linked to sincerity is 'self example'. Do our communicators do themselves what they ask others to do? Once I enquired of a group of S. E. Os in what caste would they marry their daughters and sons and the response was that of course in their own caste. Would they be found effective agents of social change, or their persuasion will not affect the rate of change in any appreciable degree if the change advocated has only the force of logic. The same might be asked of the effectiveness of a poultry expert who himself avoids eating eggs on religious grounds.

I believe there is need to investigate systematically the charac-

<sup>4</sup>Morton Robert, *Mass Persuasion* Harper and Brothers, 1946

teristics of the communicators who, in the scheme of development in India, are the main agents of change. The findings might help us in the choice of persons, the training centres, the communicators themselves, and, ultimately, developing an effective communication system for the adoption of the induced behaviour.

## Research in Behavioural Tendencies for Rural Planning

*P N Shivpuri*

*Comprehensive Planning is for consistency in Ends and Means for any project, whether at local or national level. We have a socialistic pattern of society as our End. The objectives of our plans are elaborated as being both spiritual and material development of our Indian society. But these two exclude each other. Then there are difficulties of quantitative evaluation of the spiritual development.*

The factors that we need for spiritual or material development in our society are

(a) Favourable institutional environment, such as legislation, social customs, values leading to proverb, folk lore, folk tale and sayings formation in our dialects and languages which superimpose the ideas and values for attitude formation and conformity.

(b) Economic growth of at least maintenance of the economic standards. There are two kinds of societies. One only for speeding up of action for production and manufacture of material targets or articles for material progress. The other is for speeding up of action for providing a favourable state of condition for contemplation for spiritual development.

(c) Good management, to promote the best use of the limited resources for the achievement of the objectives against the resistances. The people in power, politicians, the leaders in different fields of sciences, elite of the country, have to decide and engineer the available resources so that they might be utilized in the best possible way overcoming the resistances.

Today when we are endeavouring with our limited resources, out of which human resource is most important in our country

to achieve the Ends at the earliest, we have to consider the resistances for the maximum and optimum utilization of this resource. Value and value systems define and govern the "structure of personality," and a person in turn "seeks a qualitative refinement and enrichment of his value insight and experience." In doing so a person conserves and maximises "values without which he cannot find harmony with himself and society. This "reciprocity between the person and environment *via* community keeps values over changing, lapsing, or augmenting." "A society in order to persist must regularly fulfil the supreme values of personality." "They will rise or fall according to their emphasis on personality development." "An enduring world order calls for an appreciation of the continuity between personality and universe, between social order and the cosmic order." Social controls are necessary in a society to maintain its identity and self-sufficiency. Hence, society "prevents and regulates conflicts of groups and groups and individuals." It uses laws, physical restraint and coercion. The personal interiorization of values through experience becomes the chief means of control." This is done through proverbs, sayings and such other means as well.

Every language has proverbs or wise sayings. I will put forward some examples of different proverbs and wise sayings from Hindustani and classify them to different psychological tendencies.

- (i) Escapist tendency proverbs, such as in attached list no 1
- (ii) Defeatist tendency proverbs, such as in attached list no 2
- (iii) Conformist tendencies proverbs such as in attached list no 3
- (iv) Some proverbs, which are of help in education for us towards our goals to change the attitude and practices of human resource, such as in attached list no 4

Education, as we know, has two broad objectives

- (a) To enlighten the human resource for development of their reasoning faculties for a clear understanding of situations, and solution of the problems faced by them in their day to day life
- (b) To change the attitude, skills and practices of the human resources as the planners and educators deem it to be proper

Present formal education enlightens the pupil for development of their reasoning faculties for a clear understanding of situation

and solutions of the problems faced by them, still the conformist tendency and super imposition of old values by every day conditioning by listening to the old values through proverbs and couplets creates conflict in the decision making, resulting in human resources trying to justify the old values till the weight of new reasoning and bitter experiences becomes so strong that they take to new values and value systems. This means wastage of energies and time. On the other hand in the case of millions of illiterate educated people of our agrarian economy, who have received their education through hearing of these proverbs, couplets, folk lores and folk tales, which we have inherited through the immemorial ages by the word of mouth, are so much conditioned that they weigh every situation with old value system leading to decisions which no longer are good for them for the present society. Yet they do not know why they fail while others do succeed.

Proverbs bearing certain values and value systems pass from one age to another. The social conditions change but the proverbs are constant. Our society can only rise for the fulfilment of our present day objectives if we place proper emphasis and importance on the changing values and consciously avoid the resistances offered by the old values or old value systems which are of no importance for our goals. Thus we can do through the linguistic resources (Proverbs). If the present condition is not properly understood and engineered consciously then instead of the change in the attitude skill and practices a conformist tendency comes leading to personality disintegration of the society and resistance in the progress. New proverbs such as

1- मजबूरी का नाम महात्मा गांधी । 2. या वैईमार्न तरा ही सहारा

are showing signs of the time.

Today when we are trying to remove the resistances for rapid growth of activity through not only education to younger generation but also through official and non official adult leaders orientation trainings it is imperative that instructors should devise and modify instruments in such courses which should consciously influence their human resources. We can take the following four steps regarding the proverbs sayings, folk lores and tales which they might encounter during their talks or discussions.

(1) Promote the favourable proverbs, etc., by repeating them

as often as good judgment and usage can permit. Such proverbs may be illustrated by one of Ghag's

एक हर हत्या, दो हर राज ।

तीन हर खेती, चार हर राज ॥

- (ii) Alter the old value and value system proverbs which are no longer needed in our present context of goals and objectives ecologically, demographically, economically and politically by such equivalents which favour the present objectives, and educate the human resources for it such as

उत्तम खेती मध्यम वान, निखद चाकरी भीख निदान ।

वाणिज्ये वसति लक्ष्मी, तद् अर्थम् वृषि कर्मणे ।

तद् अर्थम् राजसेवायाम्, मिश्राम् नैव नैव च ॥

- (iii) Consciously delete some of the old value system proverbs and explain to let the human resources understand, in a wider perspective, why such proverbs are no more of any value. The example of such proverbs may be

अजगर करे न चाकरी, पछी करे न काम ।

दास मलका कहि गए, सबके दाता राम ॥

- (iv) Reinterpret some of the old ones with new values and value systems, and justify the same and explain to the human resource regarding these. The example of such proverbs may be

कर्म प्रधान विश्व रवि राखा । जे जस करहि ते तस फन चाखा ॥

There have been experiments in the field of behavioural science in different countries in recent years which are of interest and present conclusions which can be utilized in Indian conditions. Still further studies in our social conditions are needed. The new vistas for research presented before us in consideration of fast changing social values are

- the effect of reinforcement of attitudes and values by proverbs to the self
- Effect of proverbs as social approval measure,
- the different situations under which a human resource might change his value easily within a short period through usage of proverbs, etc.

- (d) length of period after which the new interpretations and values through proverbs usage have to be super-imposed, so that they may reinforce the new values.
- (e) Collection of proverbs, couplets, etc., their classification and finding of suitable replacements, etc.
- (f) last, but not the least, the importance of proverbs, etc. in attitude formation, and effect of reinforcement of certain attitudes and values by repetition

This short paper is for the planners, educators and research scholars who should allocate some of the resources for further research in the fields pointed above so that we may, for achievement of our objectives, face least resistance through the means, for its proper and optimum utilization.

लिस्ट न० १

- (१) कोउ नृप होय हमें का हानि  
चेरि छाडि नहि होइब रानि  
— तुलसीदास
- (२) अजगर करे न चाकरी, पछी करै न काम ।  
दास मलूका कहि गये, सब के दाता राम ।
- (३) पटतव्यम् तव्यम् मरतव्यम्  
न पढतव्यम् तव्यम् मरतव्यम्  
दत्त किटाकिट किम् करतव्यम्
- (४) मेरे तो गिरधर गोपाल  
दूसरो न कोई रे ।
- (५) आगाह अपनी मील से कोई बसर नही  
सामान सौ बरस का है पल की खबर नही
- (६) वो प्रभुता पाये मद नाहि ।
- (७) साई इतना दीजिये, जा मैं कुटुम्ब लपाय ।  
मैं भी भूखा ना रहूँ, साधु न भूखा जाय ॥
- (८) जाको राखै साइया, मारि सकै ना कोय ।  
बाल न बाका करि सकै, जो जग बैरी होय ॥
- (९) गोधन गजधन बाजधन, और रतन धन खान ।  
जब आवैं सतोपधन, सब धन धूरि सामन ॥

## लिस्ट नं० २

- (१) माटी कहे कुम्हार से तू क्या रोदे मोय ।  
एक दिन ऐसो आयेगो मैं रोधूगी तोय ॥
- (२) कर्म प्रधान विश्व रचि राखा ।  
जे जस करहि ते तस फल चाखा ॥
- (३) होईहै सोई जो राम रचि राखा ।  
को करि तरक बढ़ावहि साखा ॥
- (४) मरने के हजार वहाने
- (५) खुदा हाफिज
- (६) कबीर कहै गरिबयो, काल गहै कर केश ।  
ना जाँणै कह मारिसी, कै घर कै परदेश ॥
- (७) पानी केरा बुदबुदा, अस मानुस की जात ।  
देखत ही छिप जायगा, ज्यो तारा परभात ॥
- (८) आये है सो जायेंगे, राजा रक फकीर ।  
इक सिंघासन चढ़ि चले, इक बधि जात जजीर ॥
- (९) रहिमन चुप हूँ बैठिये, देख दिनन को फेर ।  
जब नोके दिन आइहै, वनत न लगिहै खेर ॥

## लिस्ट नं० ३

- (१) वजा कहे जिसे जमाना उसे वजा समझो ।  
आवाजे खल्क को नक्कारये खुदा ममझो ॥
- (२) महाजनो ऐन गता सः पथः
- (३) जगल जा रहे हैं ।
- (४) दूधो नहाओ, पूतो फलो
- (५) उत्तम खेती मध्यम वान  
निखद चाकरी भीख निदान्
- (६) डोल गवार शूद्र पशु नारी ।  
ये सब ताडन के अधिकारी ॥
- (७) उरग, तुरग, नारी, नृपति, नीच जाति, हथियार ।  
रहिमन इन्हे मभारिए, पलटत लगै न तार ॥

## लिस्ट नं० ४

- (१) जाट के घर जो आई सो जाटनी
- (२) बड़ा भया तो क्या भया जैसे पेड़ गजूर ।  
पथी को छाया नही फन लागे अति दूर ॥

- (३) मन के हारे हार है, मन के जीते जीत ।  
कह कबीर पिउ पाइये, मनहि की परतीत ॥
- (४) जाति न पूछो साधु की, पूछ लीजिये ग्यान ।  
मोल करो तलवार का, पडा रहन दो म्यान ॥
- (५) जीवेम् शरदा शतम्
- (६) It is better to light a candle  
than to curse the darkness
- (७) मागन मरन समान है, मत कोई मागो भीख ।  
मागन ते मरना भला, यह सतगुरु की सीख ॥
- (८) वाणिज्ये वसतिलक्ष्मी तद् अर्धम् कृषि कर्मणे ।  
तद् अर्धं मूराज सेवायाम्, भिक्षाम् नैव नैव च ॥

—चाणक्य

## Tradition and Planned Social Change

*Brij Raj Chauhan*

Problems of social development arise when technical and human skills, required for the development of an area, are not being put to an optimum use, and the organisational skills are not available in the area for their utilization. These conditions require the bringing in of organisational and financial skills from the outside. In view of the fact that, the area could not have developed on its own it needs the external help; the external help is required to flow to the area which does not have the requisite receptacle for the same. On the one hand the situation requires the development of the infra-structure which will provide a hospitable climate to the skills and innovations coming forth, on the other the latter will have to take note of the strata, which they have to reach, in order to be effective. The process involves the two-way development, a sort of acculturation, a continuous translation between what may be called the great traditions of modernity and the little traditions of history and folklore. The process of development would be hampered to the extent the need for this translation is ignored at the upper level and the development of the receptacle at the lower level.

Interaction between the great traditions of modernity and the little traditions of history and folklore can be made possible through such link persons whose primary understanding of one of these is accompanied by at least a secondary understanding and a positive hospitality of the other.

This requires some effort beyond the technical knowledge of the skills and procedures, and a greater understanding of the channels of communication. It also involves a recognition of the fact that there are two parties to the act.

There is a tendency on the part of the developed sector to treat

the other as an under-dog. Superior skills, better economic resources and a wider vision of the world along with the capacity to deliver the goods could promote such a feeling. The existing skills could at least be brought to lower levels, only, with certain modifications. Why should the modern expert descend to the lower level? Why should he not expect the lower ones to rise to his level? Perhaps, he himself can go to serve the cause of the lower people and modify his own techniques provided he got some rewards in the form of money or prestige for the same. A developing social system would require a greater emphasis upon rewards for the worker who would make scientific tools and skills more acceptable to others, by making the tools simpler, and less costly than before. It is not always necessary to lay emphasis upon reporting research findings in scientific jargons or putting models for machines which can only be admired and not purchased. It is also necessary to translate, the scientific findings in a language and medium understood by the people, and equally of translating a heavy costly machine into several cheaper light machines. The developing social system will have to provide greater reward-mechanisms for diffusion and modification of existing techniques than for invention.

Every existing social system has developed certain techniques through trial and error that have by now proved their efficiency for solving certain problems. This applies to tools, skills and social organisations. In a vast country with a number of diversities numerous problems arose, along with them emerged some solutions. It is quite likely that problems of one area may already have been solved in the other area, but never transmitted to that area. For instance, terrace cultivation is an art in which the tribal people have always excelled, but the same thing in community development vocabulary goes in the name of contour-bunding, and appears to be quite a problem for those not used to it. The pattern of cattle rearing among the Jats in western U P, Punjab and north-eastern Rajasthan could spread to other areas as well. Even the processes of weeding differ markedly in different areas. The patterns of cash crops in Gujarat and the success of cooperative societies in that state and Maharashtra obviously catch attention. Sometimes that which does not enter the formal definition of cooperative is found operative at the rural level in the form of organization, for large scale dinners with a number of castes having

their own cooking utensils owned in common, a single watchman looking after a number of cattle or crops, at times 7 or 8 farmers making use of one irrigation well. The existence of such practices among the people are not always contrary to modernity nor problematic for the same. They in fact provide the reservoir of known solutions spread over different parts, but not yet given the status of solutions worth being spread and diffused through modern mechanisms.

If the process of development requires a greater movement on the part of the majority it would be necessary to develop the requisite degree of commitment on the part of these people towards a higher value. It would also involve the acceptance of norms and machinery through which the development would have to come, it would be equally necessary for our people to be sufficiently informed and trained and to acquire a confidence in their own capacities for going ahead. Such a confidence could be built upon the two sources—the traditional, acquired through local experience handed down from generation, and the modern, acquired through some sort of the training programme. The necessary question to be faced is how could the traditional reservoir of skills, techniques and organisations accelerate the development rather than be defined as a retarding force.

While balanced development is always a happy situation to be attained by accrescenting the process of translation between the modern great traditions and the little traditions of history and folklore, it is also necessary to realise that all development comes at some costs. To some extent a break-through is possible only when certain things are left behind. Rather than defining such things as areas of disorganisation, it may be strategically more significant to take them into account and plan for the redefinition of the equilibrium at the next stage. In case of the weaker people and sectors, such transformations will require greater ingenuity in a bid to achieve greater results in a shorter time.

## Communication in Public Health Programmes

*Khawaja A Hasan*

In India, as in many developing countries, medical practitioners and public health workers have been reporting that often people do not utilize the medical and preventive facilities at hand. It is a well-established fact now that success in medical and health-programmes often depends upon modifications in human behaviour. The importance of human factors in the process of planning, organizing and operating medical and public health programmes is being increasingly recognized now. The result is that social scientists and public health workers today are keen to cooperate more with each other in solving many problems of common interest.

The planning of health programmes demands consultative services of not only experienced physicians and statisticians, but also of social scientists. The social scientist brings with him the techniques of field study and detail-analysis to elicit the nature and relationships of human groups and individuals within a society, the diversity in human behaviour as related to "culture areas" and the "patterning of culture". He can, for example, explain the cultural basis for food preferences and eschewals and this can help in programme planning for health education in nutrition. His important contribution to the total public health team is to relate his findings with the concepts of culture pattern, culture area, cultural relativism and ethnocentrism, and this helps other medically oriented team members to realize that they too have culturally regulated values and preconceptions which might impede their technical effectiveness.

In order to propagate new ideas and motivate people to adopt new health practices, or improve on old ones, it is necessary to understand the communication patterns of the human groups, and understand their cultural, intellectual and emotional levels.

In a developing nation like ours, communication research

applicable to public health, will have to be visualized against the background of rural, urban differences, literacy rate, technological advance social scientist can help a public health education programme in the light of the existing cultural realities. For example, cultural anthropologist can utilize the techniques of participant observation, and establishing rapport in studying indigenous communication media as well as recording informal channels of information, which may later on be appropriately utilized in public health education programme.

Planning for public health education programme demands answers to the following questions and the social scientists can help in securing answers to these meaningful questions: What are the formal and informal media of communication in the communities? What secondary techniques facilitating the communication media are used in a community and to what extent are they influential in particular groups? What is the role of fairs, festivals, religious gatherings and ceremonies in providing personal exchanges of opinions and attitudes? What is the social structuring of information channels? What is the power structure of these communities? Who are opinion leaders at various levels of social stratification and who are the gate-keepers? What are the roles of voluntary and involuntary associations—*gaon sabhas* (village councils), caste panchayats (assembly), youth clubs, etc., in formulating and disseminating opinions in the field of medical care and public health? Obviously all these, and many more such questions, are faced by health education bureaus. The social scientists can against public health planners answer such queries and in advancing public health programmes.

## Planning and the Gandhian Way

*Ram Bachan Singh*

Planning is the order of the day. Historically planning is totalitarian both in origin and in action. India is engaged in carrying out a novel experiment of planning in a democratic context. In the words of our late Prime Minister Pandit Nehru, the like which has not happened in any part of the world, "Although planning in India has many western traits in it, it is difficult to isolate them from the influence of Gandhian ideology." The patterns of new India conceived by Gandhi and Nehru were different on the ideal plain but on the plan of the actual life, where the ideal is modified by its impact on the real, they had become almost identical. So is with the plan. But the orthodox Gandhian whom Lohia calls priestly, review the plans differently and say that it is not consistent with Gandhian way and is divorced from the ideals of Gandhiji. While the Gandhian in the Government feels that it has all pervading influence, it is really not very easy to answer the question which has a variety of implications.

It is really true that the constructive programmes of Gandhiji which were conceived to attain new social ends and in the pre-Independence era had become the platforms of national struggle, have not been given important place in the scheme of things, while various items like Khadi, Village Industries, Basic education and Prohibition do find some place but they do not occupy place of importance. Some people think that this is done to show respect to Gandhiji and without them the plans would have been entirely scientific in approach. The Government of India and Planning Commission have been giving financial assistance to Khadi and Village Industries Commission. Though Khadi had been included in Social Security Department, Government of India, this gesture of Government of India was not welcomed by orthodox Gandhians, but Vinoba Bhave tried to interpret it differently.

As regards the policy of promoting large scale industries, Gandhiji was prepared to accept it for the present, provided factories were located in the villages, were owned or controlled by the State, and adequate arrangements were made for the welfare of the labourers. Also Gandhiji's own policy of encouraging village industries, village cooperatives and generally improving conditions of the villages is being followed to a considerable extent in the Third Five Year Plan. In the industrial sphere enough scope has been allowed for the 'Private Sector' that is for the capitalists. But Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship has not been accepted, and the Government of India has not made any attempt to awaken in the capitalists the sense of service and sacrifice.

The most important problem of India is an equitable redistribution of land or the introduction of collective or cooperative farming which could provide land to millions of landless labourers in the villages; a share in the ownership or use of land. To solve this problem in the Gandhian way would be to persuade the land owners to part with their land for distribution among the landless rural workers. But the attachment of people to their land is so deep-rooted that it is difficult to take it without violence from the millions of landlords. No Government can venture to launch such a drive. But Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan is not merely a movement of land reforms. It is a social movement for the moral and cultural reconstruction of the villages through the initiative of the villagers themselves. In the words of Dr. S. Abid Husain it is the spiritual counterpart of the gigantic programme of community development launched in connection with the Five Year Plans.

Basic Education was the greatest gift of Gandhiji to India to achieve more equalitarian and non-violent order of classless society. Government of India has also accepted it as a form of National Education. Gandhi tried to focus the attention of the nation since 1937 on this scheme of basic education. But after a long period of 27 years the programme of basic education has not been implemented in true spirit. It has not yet passed the stage of experimentation and discussion. It is one of the keystones on which the edifice of rural reconstruction would ultimately rest.

Gandhiji wanted to plan from below. Nehru discovered India and Gandhiji discovered the lost man. Vinoba Bhave once said that he was searching the lost man in the plan but the lost man is not there, so it is not a plan for me. Gandhi has aptly said "I shall

work for an India in which poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose working they have an effective voice " Gandhi was very particular that the villagers should be allowed to develop the right initiative and self confidence Gandhi has pointed out repeatedly that wherever you are in doubt, or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him? Then you will find your doubt and self melting away

The Gandhian way would have been to involve the people in the preparation and implementation of the plan to give them sense of involvement and achievement to the people It would have created 'social emotion' in the people Then it would have become a people's movement and real people's plan Today the plans are the device of the expert They have tried to use the language and terminology which is not understood by common man If the plan is for the common man it should have been prepared by him

The Planning Commission is of the view that the Five Year Plan targets have not been fulfilled because the country lacks a sense of conviction as well as concern for the things essential to accomplish great task

The way of Gandhi would have created a sense of conviction and it would have been the aspiration of the people

It is difficult to say that Indian Planning is Gandhian But it is on the road leading to Sarvodaya pattern of society which was envisaged by Gandhi But it is also not fair to say that the plan is entirely divorced from Gandhian ideals Broad outlines of the plans are on the general patterns of Gandhian ideals

## Action Research as a Sociological Experiment

R.R. Gupta

Action research is a kind of projected sociological experiment, design of deliberate enactment of social change. However, there is one major distinction between a pure sociological experiment and the action-oriented sociological experiment. In the latter, the action researcher has a specific goal attainment in view. He has a specific value judgement and preferences on the issue under experimentation.

The area of action research is very wide. It covers almost every aspect of living, learning and earning in society. An action-oriented researcher is keen on giving any of these a certain direction which he presumes contributes to social welfare of the community he has chosen for this experiment—controlled observation. He has a stake in the innovations—material or non-material—he proposes to introduce. He is keen on enlisting acceptance for them. In other words, he engages himself in an experimental study of the processes of acceptance rejection or resistance to a recommended innovation.

The controlled observational study subsumes under itself a varied assortment of researchers all claiming to be experimental principally in that they localise a phase of human inter-action and study it at a close range. It resembles the pure experiment in that it creates a situation. Hence it differs from the uncontrolled experiment and the *ex-post-facto* experiment. It observes simple stuff of social interaction.

All purposeful and directed observations are opposed to random and haphazard ones.

Dewey differentiates these two kinds of experiences: empirical and experimental. The former is gained through trial and error and acts unguided by insight; the latter is gained through observation directed by an understanding of conditions. In setting up a criterion for experimental enquiry, Dewey mentions two. The first is that all experiments involve overt doing. The second is that

experiment is not a random activity but is directed by ideas arising from the needs of the problem introducing the active enquiry. Such experiments naturally have certain causal hypothesis which need to be tested and that makes them a sociological experiment.

The experimental comparisons may be of two varieties (1) contemporaneous comparisons of effects in two groups, and (2) chronological comparisons of effects in a single group over a period. In other words, we can take two groups or two cases of a kind, introduce stimulus, the hypothetical cause, into one and withhold it from the other, thereby producing a control. Or we can take just one object or group or case and examine it thoroughly and determine all its characteristics, and then introduce a stimulus which achieves the effect.

Effective control is a key to the entire experimental procedure. It is essential for accuracy of conclusions. Without proper control, we cannot be certain that the causal nexus we seek to establish is a real one. When an experiment has been conducted without good controls, we cannot know whether an observed effect is actually attributable to the hypothetical cause or to some other equally uncontrolled factor. We cannot tell whether the result would have been the same in the absence of any one of the factors. A set up created by ourselves gives us a controlling power over the situational factor which otherwise we would not possess.

The first step in planning any action oriented social experiment is to identify those factors which are known definitely to be relevant to the specific phenomenon being observed. A fairly thorough acquaintance with the field ensures that the circumstances shall have been properly analysed and operated. For this reason it is not a method of discovery. The efficient and successful use of the experimental methods depends upon rather a complete knowledge of the materials to which a method is applied. Hence an insight into the relevant factors and preliminary acquaintance with them are indispensable. It is the pre-existing grasp of casual processes and functional actions which make our action experiment critical or significant. Such experiment also flows out of empirical insight or succeeds if it is based on good insight, it fails if it is based on false or poor insight. Social situations are too complex and baffling to permit us to detect all relevant factors, and factors do not certainly come labelled distinctly relevant or irrelevant. The wisdom of our choice depends on personal ingenuity and imagination.

In the selection of factors for control, it would be advisable to select only those variables which could be subjected to measurement. Attributes or traits cannot be easily measured and it is better if they are left out. Some sort of ranking among factors is also desirable in view of their relative importance. Since innumerable factors are involved in any event we must focus our attention upon only those few which seem most important to us.

Coming to the control technique, we shall make use of the familiar ones like factor equation which includes precision control or simultaneous pairing. This method gives us small samples. For a larger size, we can use frequency distribution control. Here, the given variable factor is far less rigorous than is the identifying by matching individual with individual. A further use of randomization is suggested as means for taking care of those factors which cannot be equalised. Randomization is the final guarantee that the personnel of the experimental groups is not a self-selected one.

Another problem in projected action experimentation is that many a time there are disturbing influences resulting from social change which vitiate precise measurement of the impact of the stimulus introduced. Here, the use of two groups for contemporaneous comparison largely eliminates the disturbing effect of social dynamics and so this viewpoint is to be preferred to chronological comparison of a single group.

Further, pre-exposure attitude testing is another imperative condition for such experiments to be sure that the differential result between the two or single groups on the post-exposure attitude test is a consequence of the hypothetical cause.

#### *Some Human Aspects of Action Research*

Customs in society are linked with one another. Change in one may bring about change in many others. The customs may further prevent or retard change. Once the nature of customs and the effect of their linkage is understood, we get a preliminary frame of reference for planning and directing a programme of change. Once this is realised, we can find help in guiding changes through using known psychological processes of suggestion and learning.

A knowledge of how a given people's culture is integrated, how different customs and peoples are inter-related, provides us a basis for predicting the effects of proposed change.

A thorough knowledge of social organisation is another prere-

quisite for introducing projected change. A social organisation consists of recognised groups of individuals who are accustomed to act together for certain purposes and who abide by certain codes of behaviour, however, unconscious of these codes they may be. The code consists of the rights and duties which the group expects its members to abide by and which forms the basis for their cooperation. Every society has some formal groupings so that formal organisation in terms of social stratification may exist. There are informal organisations also. Acknowledgement of such grouping may be of great significance in introducing new ways.

Social organisation of any people, like culture of which it is part, constitutes an inter related whole. Changes in one section will have repercussions on others. Their recognition is essential, since existing channels of communication and cooperation constitute a starting point for the introduction of anything new.

The nature of social organisation will provide us a basis for establishing communication concerning a proposed change and for channelising our energies in furthering it. The spelling out of cultural linkages and mopping the social organisation is merely the groundwork for solving the given problem.

A new technique is always introduced by someone, local leader, extension agent, technician or administrator. Thus, the innovator is a part of the situation and his role as a factor must be assessed. The actions of the innovator need to be evaluated with reference to culture of social organisation of the people. This may be in conflict or conformity with them. The success or failure may be very largely the result of his perception held by the people he is trying to influence. Local innovators with prestige in the existing social system may prove especially effective.

The people do not vary their customary behaviour unless they feel some need which the existing ways do not satisfy. The response to such a need is to invent or borrow new techniques or forms of organisation. Here it must be understood that needs cannot be imposed by fists. An imposition might generate antagonism and resistance. This sort of resistance can only be encouraged by people's participation in all phases of innovation process. Devising means of such participation in the light of knowledge of cultural and social organisation is a fundamental procedure in ensuring success of the projected changes.

Under our system of comprehensive planning, the whole adminis-

trative machinery is engaged in planning, particularly in the implementation of the Plan. There is no special part of the machinery engaged in planning administration as distinct from general administration, except for a number of staff units at different levels which are concerned primarily with the formulation of the various parts of the plan or of the whole co-ordinated plan. It will, therefore, not be improper here to draw attention to certain features of our administrative system that vitally affects the achievements of our planning, and to the attitude of our planners to the question of the improvement of that system.

It is true that in certain respects our administrative system has not been doing badly and that there are some bright spots. It may be considered tolerably efficient with some reservations even here—so far as the basic functions of governments are concerned, law and order, revenue collection, maintenance of means of communication, some kind of a public health system, etc., are more or less, being looked after in a satisfactory manner. Of late, it has been making heroic efforts to gear itself to new kinds of tasks, that have developed on it, because of the progress of industrialisation and the adoption of the ideals of a welfare state and a socialistic pattern of society. What has been bothering us all is that for these new tasks, it must work much more efficiently, and it appears that this greater efficiency, the administrative machinery cannot acquire unless it is lifted out of the traditional ruts, and unless the more obvious defects relating to the competence and integrity of a good many of its parts are removed as quickly as possible. Time is of the essence of the matter if we must break the vicious circle of rising population and low standard of living, and achieve what is called the take off stage of national economy.

The shortcomings of the administrative system have been recounted frequently, and they have been mentioned in all our Five Year Plans which have also proposed several steps to meet these shortcomings. I shall save you the tedium of listening to them all once again. Most of the measures of administrative reform mentioned in the plans were sound so far as they went, though, let me add, they never went very far. Whatever the extent and scope of these proposed measures, they were made an integral part of our three plans like any scheme for power, transport or irrigation. That is how they should have been treated. My opinion is that they actually did not receive that attention which other

schemes included in the plans did. If there have been shortfalls and failures in implementation of the plan target, they have been only more pronounced in the field of administrative reform schemes. Administrative reform has been nobody's child in particular. There are evaluations and reviews so far as implementation of plan schemes in other areas are concerned, but hardly anything similar is attempted, so far as I know, about schemes of administrative reform included in the plans.

I have tried to analyse the reasons for this situation, and I shall submit my analysis for your consideration.

I maintain, first, that the planners and those in the seats of power have not been bold and imaginative enough in the matter of administrative reform, and have provided for little more than some tinkering here and there on a machinery of vast dimensions and long established ways of working. Mere tinkering can produce no result whatsoever. There must be big changes and a drastic break from old patterns of organisation and procedure. Thus the leaders in government and our planning bodies have failed to attempt due to an exaggerated fear of instability in case some of the big changes misfire. Considering the many big changes attempted in other areas of our national life, this hesitation is not quite understandable.

My second point is that whatever measures of administrative reform, incorporated in our three plans, were not implemented properly. It is not denied, that the question of administrative changes is different from that of changes in the modes of irrigation, or in the use of fertilizers, or in the marketing of produce of cottage industries. This may explain some variation in approach, and in the amount of achievement, in the field of administrative reform when compared to that of the fields of transport or public health or power. But I think one essential, and very significant difference, which has not yet been adequately noticed and recognised is that whereas in other fields of planning the administrator has to push changes, that will affect others, in the field of administrative reform, the changes will affect the administrator himself directly, his ways of work, his jurisdiction, his authority, his 'empire', and his career. It is not so very ununderstandable, if the administrator fails to show great enthusiasm for changes in the machinery of which he is a part. He is well known for his love of routine and precedence, his lack of initiative and imagination, and his over cautious approach to things new and untried.

My third point is closely connected with the second. Whenever we decide in this country to try some new ideas and bold changes in the administrative system, we should not expect these new ideas to come from the administrators, particularly the older and the more experienced. The older and the more experienced suffer more acutely, from what Professor Laski called the limitations of the expert, than the younger members of the bureaucracy. It is difficult for them to see the jungle instead of the trees. It is usually very difficult for them to think beyond the framework of the system of which they are an integral part. It would, therefore, be wrong if the administrator were to be looked upto as an innovator.

Let me submit some positive suggestions also before I conclude. I am for a radical simplification of procedure and that, I realise, will not be possible unless we revise our concepts of review, supervision, and control. Here, I cannot help asking the question how much of the review and supervision provided for under the existing system is genuine, and how much of it is more or less a fraud on the tax-payer. Let us try a system with much fewer points of control and fewer levels in the bureaucratic hierarchy. This, I realise, will work only with a much stricter system of disciplinary action, than prevails at present, due partly to the hangover from the British period, and partly due to confused thinking about the rights and security of tenure of the civil servant and such things as due process of law and natural justice. Big changes along these lines will be impossible without a very substantial delegation of authority to men on the lower rungs of the ladder. For that, we must have men at the lower levels who can be trusted with the exercise of authority in a fair and competent manner. There will, ultimately, be the need for persons of a much higher calibre at the lowest levels of the administrative machinery. This brings us to a wide range of personnel problems. We have to keep in mind that administration is a kind of social engineering and the material of which the administrative apparatus is made, is as important as the design of the apparatus. So also is the quality of the material on which the apparatus has to work. The civil servant operates in a given social and political environment which has a direct impact on his work and values. No consideration of the question of administrative reform can ignore all these factors. These factors create many problems and pose many questions concerning the system of administration. It is here that the social sciences can play a very

significant role, a role much more significant than they have, hitherto, played in our country

The social scientist should be of help in the solution of a large number of questions relating to the efficiency of the administrative system. Questions of morale, training, public relations, internal relations (between the superior and the subordinate) require the attention of the trained sociologist, social psychologist and anthropologist. Attitudes of the citizen and the very usual failure, on the part of the citizen, to identify his private interest with public interest, the need for greater stress on the social significance of individual conduct are matters of concern not only for the social scientists but for all educationists. I hope this Seminar will throw up some fruitful suggestions as to how the social scientists may discharge better his obligation to society in this regard.

One more word before I finish. May I suggest that the social scientists explore the possibilities of study of such questions, that a behaviouralist approach will open up. My opinion is that such an approach is eminently suited for such studies. It is an interdisciplinary approach. It treats the individual as the unit of study, and it is scientific.

# Planning, People and Participation<sup>1</sup>

V. B. Singh

## Introduction

With the adoption of the resolution on socialism by the Indian Parliament, after the Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress, Socialism has become our national goal. The Five Year Plans have been launched to reach this goal. But no serious attempt has been made to present a programmatical outline of Indian Socialism, as well as the phases, in which it is to be implemented. In this note our aim is to present, in brief, the role that people should play in Indian planning.

Let us start, with the obvious *sans* people planning has no meaning. One may legitimately argue that each of our plans have devoted some pages to the discussion of popular participation. We submit that intention and fact are two different things. With each successive plan, in spite of an emotional emphasis on people's participation, there has been a dialectical alienation between the people and the plan. This is not *primarily* a psychological phenomenon. It is rooted in the prevailing economic situation characterised by rising prices and falling incomes of the proletariat (both urban and rural) and of the salarist. This rise in prices, sometimes, is ascribed to the huge investments in heavy industries. A plan, more so a socialist plan, harmonizes the requirements of the present with those of the future; therefore, the controversy about the development of producers' goods *versus* consumers' goods is an infantile exercise. Neither the peasants can be supplied fertilizers, power and modern agricultural machinery nor the artisans the means of renovating their tools, machinery and equipment, without the development of iron and steel, power and heavy chemicals. So it is not the pattern of investment that has separated the people and the plan, but it is

<sup>1</sup>For detailed discussions see Singh, V. B., *Essays in Indian Political Economy* New Delhi, 1967.

the lack of control over the traders and speculators, as well as the absence of vision, that incentives make the people to participate in the formulation and implementation of planning, and this generates a motivation leading to innovation and social multiplier. Consequently, our planning has proceeded without the people, people being defined as a category of conscious citizens having definite rights and obligations to the plans, as well as the effective means to exercise their rights and fulfil their obligations.

This looks more tragic when we note that the strategy of Indian planning lies in the expansion of the public sector, State and co-operative enterprises, which will certainly bring a change in the property relations. Thus ninety nine per cent of our population, the entire peasantry, the artisans, the small manufacturers, the trader and the middle classes— can be brought in the cooperative sector. In the organised industrial sector, whether under public or private management, the trade unions, through the instrumentality of workers' participation in management, can be the decisive factor in giving new economic and social content to our goal of Socialism. Similarly, village panchayat if *democratically* administered, can infuse a new sense of enthusiasm and belongingness in the countryside. Thus the scope of Indian planning is quite comprehensive from the viewpoint of Social revolution.

#### *Co operative Participation*

A Social Revolution starts in the minds of men, when they start identifying their *interests* with those of the country and the society. This collective consciousness becomes a material force in the transformation of the society. In India there is no such perspective before us, because our plans have made no attempt to convince the peasants that they cannot improve their employment and income opportunities as long as they do not have the means to modernise agriculture. The means of modernizing agriculture requires larger holdings than ninety per cent of Indian peasants have. The main-land ratio in India can also be improved, if the boundaries are appreciably removed. In short, the salvation of the peasant and the country lies in co-operativisation. From a case study of the co-operative farms in Poland, German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Rumania we have drawn the following points of general interests to India.

- (1) A cooperative farm has generally been formed with the

pioneering efforts of group of political missionaries who have brought home the truth among the small peasants that their salvation lies in marching on the road to cooperative farming

(2) The initial opposition to cooperative farming has come from women and Kulaks

(3) This has been overcome by education, through scientific propaganda, and face to face persuasion. With all our efforts we could not get any evidence of force being applied

(4) The state aid in the form of (a) supply of articles of agricultural inputs—improved seeds, fertilizers, irrigation facilities, etc., (b) establishment of Machine-Tractor-Stations, (c) meeting half of the initial costs, (d) credit on easy terms, (e) supply of technical know how and the maintenance of the secretary and the president at its own cost, (f) lower (than on peasant farms) rate, of taxation on co-operatives and various other ways have, no doubt, helped the cooperative farms and provided incentives to the peasants to join them

(5) But the real attraction has been the success of the co-operative farm itself, reflected in, higher per hectare yield and the resultant higher income for the members

(6) The redistribution of land has facilitated the formation of cooperative farms

(7) Co-operation has preceded consolidation (A reverse process, it may be argued, is certainly a hindrance to co-operative farming)

(8) The tangible success of the co-operative farms has been, partly, because of the availability of modern machines on account of the establishment of the M T S

(9) But mechanization has not led to any unemployment. To the contrary, it has given more leisure coupled with a higher (than before) degree of employment and income

(10) This has been possible, because with the formation of a co-operative farm, the area is enlarged and, consequently, mixed farming becomes easy and profitable. Agriculture, horticulture, sericulture, poultry and animal husbandry provide more employment than ever before. The crop pattern also changes. Farming becomes increasingly intensive. The emergence of such changes in the agricultural sector have their employment generating effects on the public works as well as educational and medical spheres

(11) The Co-operative farming helps the nationalisation of trading in foodgrains—either through cooperatives or state pur-

chasing centres. This has regulated the movements of agricultural prices as well as the supply of foodgrains to the urban population.

(12) Cooperatives have accelerated a high rate of capital formation with the establishment of Basic (Reserve) Fund, which has been essentially invested in agriculture, but it has its secondary effect on further industrialisation as it creates a huge demand for fixed capital to be invested in agriculture. (This again creates more employment)

(13) The introduction of the Work-Day Unit system has ensured economic and social justice to the members, even if they have joined the cooperative with small holdings.

(14) During a short period of their existence the cooperatives have succeeded in giving to their members decent facilities under social security schemes, which was otherwise unthinkable.

(15) Similarly, the cooperative farms have provided increasing facilities for cultural activities which have broken, for the first time, the drudgery and monotony under which peasants have lived for centuries.

(16) Lastly, the cooperatives have been an excellent instrument of imparting education, three R's technical and general—to the peasants. This has enhanced their skill, dexterity and has enlightened their outlook towards life and society.

The limited experience of cooperative farming in India is also encouraging. Let us cite the evidence collected by the group on cooperative farming appointed by the Ministry of Community

encouraging results, both, in terms of per acre yield and profits

Connected with the formation of the cooperative farms is the question What has motivated the peasants to join a cooperative farming society? The following types of motivations are revealed by the Survey (1) Some enthusiastic social workers convinced of the benefits of the cooperative farming persuaded the peasants<sup>1</sup> to form cooperative farms (2) To avert conviction<sup>2</sup>, scarcity of rice<sup>3</sup>, underemployment (and the subsequent accrual of low income<sup>4</sup>), shortage of labour supply<sup>5</sup>, the damages caused by Kans (the wild deep-rooted grass<sup>6</sup>), and floods<sup>7</sup> (3) To take the full advantage of improved methods of cultivation and cooperative marketing<sup>8</sup>, mechanisation of agriculture<sup>9</sup>, consolidation<sup>10</sup>, and utilisation of affluent water of a local factory<sup>11</sup> (4) Rehabilitation of depressed castes<sup>12</sup>, ryots<sup>13</sup>, *Adivasi*<sup>14</sup> (tribes) and refugees<sup>15</sup> (5) Inspired by Gandhī Smarak Nidhi, Gram Sarvodaya<sup>16</sup>, Acharya Narendra Dev, Vice Chancellor, Lucknow University<sup>17</sup>, Lucknow Professor who held land<sup>18</sup>, a reading of Wendel Wilkie's *One World*<sup>19</sup>, and by a stage actor and his associates<sup>20</sup> These motivations are reduceable to "*Economic compulsions and the way out shown of them*" Viewed thus the decisive factor in the formation of cooperative farming societies in India, is the quality of leadership that can fulfil the task This leadership can be supplied either by the political parties and peasant organisations having faith in cooperative farming, or social organisations like Sarvodaya—but all these have to function in cooperation with the official machinery, and in the framework of the given law At present a change in the attitude of the leadership, as well as in the government's approach to the urgency of cooperative farming is needed The law too, far from helping the formation of cooperative Societies, has become an obstacle to its speedy development

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Working Group on Cooperative Farming Vol II* New Delhi 1959, pp 1 14

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp 4 and 51

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p 17

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p 27

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p 44

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p 53

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p 6

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p 44

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p 43

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, p 43

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p 66

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, pp 10 11

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p 20

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p 32

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, pp 27, 38, 40 and 42

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p 23

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p 57

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p 35

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p 59

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p 12

It is this approach towards planning that will ensure the participation of peasants through cooperative in the formulation and implementation of our plans which will change the face of the countryside

### *Worker Participation*

The Cooperative approach for ensuring participation is also applicable to the unorganised artisans in the cities and the towns. So far as the organised industrial sector is concerned there is a consensus of opinion that workers' participation in the management is the beginning of industrial democracy. But the question is, where and how to start it? It is an empirical question, and the experiment may be made in the following directions

1 The industrial aspects of national plans should be worked out in collaboration with tripartite bodies (like the Indian Labour Conference). No directives of the Planning Commission and no legislation of the Parliament can be a substitute for the social multiplier, that the effective functioning of organised labour generates in the economy and the society. This is one of the reasons why India has emphasised the role of Trade Unions in her Plans. The Third Five Year Plan, for example, emphasises a considerable readaptation in the outlook, functions and practices of Trade Unions, to suit the conditions which have arisen and are emerging under impact of planning.

2 The Trade Unions can be effective in realising the objectives outlined above if they are organised on a functional basis. The sub-committee on *Labour* of the National Planning Committee (of India) had observed about three decades ago that "workers must be compulsorily unionised—as they would have to be compulsorily educated, vaccinated, or inoculated in their own as well as in the common interest. Every worker in any class of work must be a member of a Trade Union or a Professional Guild. No work, no living, no amenities of life can be assured for anybody in the planned society of our conception, unless he is a member of an organisation appropriate to his work. If he changes his work or residence he may change his Union, Guild or Corporation. There must be full freedom of movements. But there must be some means to assign a fit and proper place to every worker while he is in working efficiency, and for that purpose he must belong to some Union, Association, Brotherhood, or by any other name the organisation

may be known " (p 67) It may be difficult to agree with the view regarding compulsory unionisation, but it is imperative that every factory and office must have a trade union in the widest sense of the term—to protect the interest of the employees, as well as provide a democratic forum for the realisation of the task assigned to it in a given plan This implies that not only in organised industries but also in educational, scientific and cultural institutions, there should be organised associations, at the apex of which should come the national executive

3 The specific function of a Trade Union is to protect, safeguard and improve the interest of the workers or employees The other functions that have emerged with the evolution of modern industrial society cannot supersede this function In centrally planned economies, however, the various functions of a Trade Union are treated as complementary and not conflicting In the underdeveloped countries, which are having necessarily mixed economies with a predominant role of the private sector in the initial years, the wage-bargaining function of the Trade Unions should be considered primary, and other functions secondary The wage bargaining is not opposed to the wider interests of the economy The Trade Unions can provide empirical verification of the view that the economy of high wages has basis in real life This is so when wage increases result in the reduction of strikes and increase in production Since the aim of planned economic development is to raise the standard of living of the people, the 'Trade Unions' demand for a higher wage is an aspect of fulfilling the objectives of planning An increase in a national production should be reflected in higher standard of living at the same time the rate of labour productivity must be still higher This principle generates not only adequate incentive for higher production, but also keeps the rate of accumulation higher than the rate of consumption Thus it is clear as Mr David A Morse, Director General I L O has suggested in an address to the Netherlands School of Economics in Rotterdam (March 17, 1964), that Trade Unions have to play a stronger role in the determination of the distribution of national income

4 While bargaining for wages in a factory the worker does not remain a cog in the machine It matters nothing to the seller of bricks whether these are to be used in building a palace or a sewer says Alfred Marshall but it matters a great deal to the seller

of labour whether or not the place in which it is to be done is a wholesome and pleasant one and whether or not his associates will be such as he cares to have. This line of thinking has developed further, and now workers are being treated as partners in the industry. Whether it is the Whiteley Councils of Great Britain, Co determination of Federal Germany or Workers Participation in the Management of the centrally planned economies, the worker is being associated with the factory and departmental levels in the administration of the industry. In the developing countries, the fulfilment of the industrial targets will be greatly facilitated if comprehensive programme of associating the workers with planning, its implementation and evaluation of factory production is enunciated and implemented. It is for this reason that the Third Five Year Plan of India aims at a progressive extension of the scheme of Joint Management Councils, and making it a normal feature of industrial system. Further it states that As it develops workers participation may become a highly significant step in the adaptation of the private sector, to fit into the framework of a socialistic order. It can serve to bridge the gulf between labour and management, create better mutual understanding and facilitate the adoption on both sides of an objective approach towards the problems of the industry and the worker. The success or failure of an undertaking is not the concern of management alone. For the peaceful evolution of an economic system on a democratic basis, it is essential that a worker participation in management should be accepted as a fundamental principle and an urgent need. In course of time, management cadres should arise from the working class itself. This will greatly help to promote social mobility ingredients of a socialistic system.

5 The emergence of the institution of workers participation in management, through factory and departmental Committees, will be a potent instrument for promoting healthy and harmonious industrial relations. Further, the trade unions may technically equip themselves to be competent to help the enforcement of labour law, and share the responsibility in the implementation of social security schemes. They can investigate and study the safety and the health conditions in various enterprises, and make proposals for improving the existing laws. They may also educate the workers on safety measures and instruct them on the working of safety devices and safe methods.

6 In the underdeveloped countries the industrial labour is mainly drawn from the villages. Therefore, the problem of adjustment, in the wider sense of the term, with a new industrial environment is a matter of great importance for the worker. It is against this background that the problems of eliminating illiteracy, unhygienic conditions, and monotony of life assume an importance. This can be done by launching a comprehensive programme of welfare activities to impart education, create healthy conditions and provide medical and recreational facilities. This implies that the Trade Unions should demand the opening of adequate number of kindergartens, canteens, cultural halls and houses. *They should also participate in their administration.* As the industrial life gets more and more complex and the trade unions develop, the nature and scope of the welfare activities undertaken by the Trade Unions will be widened.

7 This is possible when required levels of literacy and education are prevalent in the working class. Therefore, the Trade Unions have a heavy responsibility in organising and implementing workers' education programmes, covering cultural, political and technical fields. There is a growing demand from the workers, in the less developed areas, to know the three R's. The Trade Unions can encourage the educated workers to assume the role of worker teachers. The investment in workers education is a direct investment for enhancing the productivity of the economy. The technical efficiency of the workers helps them in effecting inventions which in turn leads to cost reduction. This spread of general and technical education can be fully realised not only through the trade Union schools but also through regular seminars, summer camps and refresher courses and evening classes for the adults. On such a condition of workers education, it would be possible to develop research institutes in important industrial centres where workers also may be engaged in researches on higher productivity, safety and other allied problems.

8 The various aspects regarding the nature, functions and role of Trade Unions, hinted above, cannot be left unplanned in a planned economy. One of the mechanism for this type of planning and its successful execution is collective agreements between trade unions and the management for a specified period of time. These agreements cover various aspects like wages, rate of production, cost-reduction, productivity, profitability, social security, labour safety,

welfare and cultural activities, workers participation in management technical and organisational improvements bonus, workers, training, vertical mobility, education, and the administration of workers' technical schools. The introduction and extension of collective agreements, between the Trade Union and Management, for mutually fulfilling the national economy and specially so in the developing countries where higher production is necessary to achieve their avowed objectives of rapid economic development.

### *Education and Development*

In the preceding two sections the problem of the application of knowledge to production—agricultural as well as industrial—has been raised. This takes us to the wider problem of the role of education in economic development. Both Marx and Gandhi have emphasised the method of knowing through doing. But our immediate interests is to invite the attention of this Seminar to the unprecedented opportunities that our planned economic development unfolds for taking knowledge to the farms and the factories and in this task our Universities and Research Institutes cannot be allowed to continue to live like ostriches. In the centrally planned economies, the Academy of Sciences with its branches in the regions, provided a comprehensive machinery for applied research in various disciplines. In India, increase in per acre yield gap between agricultural and industrial growth, role of agriculture in investment process of development, agrarian and industrial problems, village panchayats, trade unions, rationalisation, productivity, utilisation of surplus labour, wages in structure, wage policy, methods of wage payments, application of work day units, working of norms, problems of state trading, impact of mechanisation, agricultural price policy, methods and levels of participation, utilisation of leisure, bureaucracy under planning, emerging social relations and social institutions are some of the problems on which researches can neither be carried on in ivory towers, nor the results of researches on them can be left unintegrated into the economy. Therefore, it is time to start an Indian Council of Science. This Seminar will be playing a historic role in case it becomes a nucleus for the formation of U. P. Social Science Council. This will be the beginning of the beginning of Social Scientists' participation in planning.

## Emerging Patterns of Rural Leadership

*B. M. Pande and P. N. Jain*

An improvement of the socio economic conditions in a predominantly agricultural country like India presupposes a strong foundation of rural leaders who can shoulder increasing responsibilities

The question arises as to how this leadership will emerge—leaders do not appear spontaneously Unless efforts are made to create favourable conditions for the growth of proper leadership, it is unlikely that leadership needed at this hour would come forth One such effort has recently been made Under Panchayat Raj, a network of democratic institutions from the village upwards has come into existence The system provides for a natural method for the selection of leaders, a ground for their training and a continuous flow of leadership from the grassroots upto the apex So perhaps the example of Panchayat Raj in context of emerging patterns of rural leadership may be studied with advantage as a case in point

### *Structural Bases of Rural Leadership*

The framework for the new rural leadership structure has been provided by the enforcement of Panchayat, Kshettra Samitis and Zila Parishad Acts Village Panchayat consisting of Pradhan (President) and Panches (Members) are directly elected by the Gaon Sabha (village assembly) on the basis of adult franchise Elections to the Kshettra Samitis and Zila Parishads are held indirectly, i.e. by the Pradhans and other co-opted members to the Kshettra Samitis and by the Pramukhs and other co-opted members to the Zila Parishads respectively<sup>1</sup> Thus has opened avenues for

<sup>1</sup> According to U P Panchayat Raj and Kshettra Samiti and Zila Parishad Acts, a panchayat is formed over a village or group of villages Kshettra Samiti at the block level and Zila Parishad at the district level

leadership, not only to the rural elite but even to the small cultivators, artisans, younger age group, lower caste persons and constructive workers<sup>2</sup>

### *Caste Differentials and Panchayat Positions*

According to available data in Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh there are twenty blocks. The majority of population in this district is that of Brahmins followed by Thakurs. But Ahirs and Kurmis combined together in influencing the election of Gram Panchayats in favour of the persons of their caste group. In the beginning of democratic era, Brahmins and Thakurs used to get elected to various offices according to their respective strength in a particular constituency by exploiting the caste sentiments on such occasions. Now Ahirs and Kurmis have taken clue from these castes and formed a unity to fight elections. Lately they captured as many as eight positions of Pramukhs out of twenty. Eight positions went to Brahmins and the rest four to Thakurs. No other community could capture a single office. Another interesting feature is that out of 20 Pramukhs only 4 are reputed freedom fighters and constructive social workers and the rest are either ex-big landlords or big businessmen.

Another available data from Ghosi block of Azamgarh district in Uttar Pradesh reveals that out of 82 Pradhans of Gram Panchayats, 20 are ex-residential landlords, 24 are those who belong to the castes of the majority of electorates. 7 belong to villagers with no leadership struggle, and are persons belonging to the backward classes and cultivators of small holdings, 8 are young social and political workers and rest are those enjoying heredity, land, money, or ex-services status in the locality.

thrown up by Community development programme and other social workers have been elected to these bodies defeating their rivals who are supposed to be the traditional leaders in the rural society. Certainly their number is few, but it is hoped that in a rigid type of working of socio economic development programme in Panchayat Raj, a widely recognised and functionally organised leadership will gradually emerge. Even the potentially talented traditional leaders whom if we can train and instil in them a vocational efficiency and scientific outlook, can turn to be the useful leaders in the wake of technological and other social change that is taking place in our society.

#### *Education and Age Distribution*

In Kanpur district of which an example has been given earlier, it will be known as contrary to the general belief that only village elders and headmen could lead rural communities and leaders coming to grip the Panchayat Raj institutions are illiterate, young and educated leadership is coming.

Table 1 denotes the age group of Pradhans and Pramukhs in Mangalpur Nyaya Panchayat circle and Kanpur district.

TABLE 1  
SHOWING PRADHANS AND PRAMUKHS BELOW AND ABOVE  
THIRTY FIVE YEARS

<i>Name of circle</i>		<i>Pradhans/Pramukhs below 35 years</i>	<i>Pradhans/ Pramukhs above 35 years</i>	<i>Total</i>
1	Nyaya Panchayat Kschetra Mangalpur (Jhunjhare block)	3	7	10
2	Kanpur district	6	14	20

Table 2 denotes the classification of Pradhans and Pramukhs, according to their educational qualifications in the same circles.

TABLE 2  
SHOWING EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF PRADHANS  
AND PRAMUKHS

<i>Educational qualifications</i>		<i>No of Pradhans/Pramukhs in Mangalpur circle (Jhunjhare block)</i>	<i>No of Pramukhs in Fazpur district</i>
1	Graduates	1	4
2	Intermediate	2	6
3	High School	nil	3
4	Below High School	4	7
5	Illiterate	3	nil
Total		10	20

*Differential Traits of Elected Leaders*

The leadership pattern evolved has also certain characteristic features. Many office bearers (statutory leaders) do not understand the principles underlying Panchayati Raj and democracy. There is a gap between precept and practice. They preach the local people to observe certain new practices but they themselves do not observe many of them. What Evelyn Wood had said in 1960 still holds good in many parts of the country. "A would be or putative leader who offers counsel or who gives orders calling for a new practice or a changed practice on the part of his fellow villagers, will not be taken seriously for long unless he himself and his family follow consistently the changes required."<sup>3</sup>

Exceptions are also there. Many Pradhans with their members first pledged to adopt improved agricultural practices and thereafter, they had taken the task to spread the message to their fellow villagers. Village Panchayat Mohakampur of Meerut district has done commendable work to saturate most of the agricultural improved practices like green manuring and U P method of wheat cultivation in its area.

There are various leaders who only on account of the prestige issue have contested the elections, although they do not possess the qualities of a development and democratic leader. In the process of decision making and even execution the parties make minor things as their prestige points. Lack of civil consciousness or a characteristic leadership, sometimes, gives birth to the element of authoritarianism in the rural leadership. Except a few patent sub-leaders, the members of the executive in the Panchayati Raj institutions<sup>4</sup> are kept aloof in the decision making in camera. As a matter of fact, leadership in Panchayati Raj is a group mechanism which could be understood as a social process in which all members of the group and all shades of opinion are equally represented in the making of collaborative decisions. Leadership is not to be thought of as the functions of one man, say Pradhan or Pramuks but more than one individual on different occasions. The more diffused the leadership becomes, the healthier and stronger is the institution.

It would appear that during a particular term of Panchayati Raj unit certain good work has been done due to the initiative and

<sup>3</sup>From *Patterns of Influence Within Rural India* paper contributed by Evelyn Wood and published in Park and Tinker's edited book *Leadership and Political Institutions in India*, p. 390, Oxford University Press 1960.

encouragement given by the Pradhan, but with the change of leadership during the next term, the development programme was not found to make much headway. There may be two reasons for the same. One that felt needs of the village people were met with and another which seems to be more important is that there remained a lack of effective programme of action in the former term and the transformation of the process of leadership could not take place properly.

## Training of Village Leaders

*B M Pande*

India since its independence was engaged in a big battle of fighting against poverty, disease, illiteracy and unemployment in the country. It had seen two Five Year Plans gone through successfully and had entered the third one. Community Development formed an integral part of the five year plans with the objectives of transforming the social and economic life of the villages. Panchayati Raj came in to ensure effective association of the people with the Community Development Programme and make it a people's movement.

With the five year plans in general and Community Development in particular the life in the villages pulsated with new hopes, promises and determinations. Panchayati Raj brought in its wake the necessary requisite to strengthen the foundations of parliamentary democracy.

Obviously it means training the rural masses to rise to the expectations of the country. If democracy has to be successful in India it is but imperative that good leadership has to merge in our villages. Successful operation of the democratic principles depends solely upon the purposeful participation by the individual citizen in the affairs of his country in his personal capacity, and also as a member of his community. What is actually required in the villages and in the constructive programme is the quality of leadership and not the quantity of leadership. The need for intelligent village leadership is as essential and important for progress in our rural areas as the emergence of leaders.

### *Leadership Definition*

This brings us to the question what is leadership? It has been defined in many ways. Tead says, "Leadership is the activity

of influencing people to cooperate towards some goal which they come to find desirable " Bernard defines leadership as any person who is more than ordinarily efficient in carrying psychological stimuli to others and is thus effective in conditioning collective response Yet another definition says that leadership is a process of mutual stimulation which by successful interplay of relevant individual differences controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause For our purpose in community organisation it would suffice to say that a leader is one who is able to see ahead of the rest, who is able to plan and enlist others in the programme We should acknowledge therefore that leadership of rural group is a product of group life and that it does not exist independently of a group This would mean two very important things

- 1 That the villagers should be trained to develop the spirit of self help, sense of self respect, initiative and a capacity for cooperation and joint working with their fellow men for the common good
- 2 That they should be able to manage their affairs competently with such guidance and help as is required from above, but with as little of authoritarian direction as possible

### *Leadership Location*

This takes us to another important question that of location of good village leaders There is already a set of leaders in the villages in the form of the elected representatives and office bearers of Panchayati Raj institutions These are the formal types having come through constitutional procedures But there is a large variety of others who could be the desired type, for the programme of rural reconstruction There are those who are interested in learning new techniques and improved methods of production Many of them are such as would take up to new ways without much resistance Such persons could ultimately act as demonstration unit and serve as good communication media for the spread of new ideas These can be termed as the Functional Leaders Each of them could have a specialised branch of activity say in the field of agriculture, poultry, youth work, sanitation and so on There are others who are good simple, unsophisticated matured persons not interested in personal publicity but deeply concerned about the welfare of the community of which they are a part of They have a reputation for honesty and justice These are the types that can act as a friend,

philosopher and guide to the village people. A third category is the dominating type who has the capacity to see things through. He generally comes from a higher economic strata of the village, and does command respect of quite a good section of the village population. Such leaders could be of great benefit for community works. Yet there are others who are leaders of caste and occupational groups.

One can seize these various types through different methods such as by individual contacts, meeting them in group discussions and meetings, seeing them at work in village functions, religious ceremonies, marriages, *kathas*, *keertans* or in such emergent situations as floods, fires and the like.

### *Leadership Motivation*

With the multiplicity of various types of leaders in the village the problem is that of sublimating the emotions of village leadership of all types for the service of the village community and thus put a check upon the evils of the traditional leadership. While encouragement of the right type is necessary, conflict has to be avoided. It can be done if proper training is imparted, all find scope for work and each one gets a recognition for good work from the society.

Community Development has taken upon itself the onerous duty of mobilising people's participation and helping emerge the right type of leadership in the villages. This great task is sought to be promoted through Panchayati Raj. It has to meet the new challenges of the situation. Naturally it has to prepare the rural masses to stand firm to the test. Never before was there a need, so great, to train the people as it is now. The training programme for the village leaders has to be properly oriented to meet the requirements of the present emergency of food crisis.

### *Experiences in Leadership Training*

In the past many experiments have been tried in the field of training of village leaders. These range from the integrated camps of a week's duration to one day camp of *Kharif/Rabi* campaign cum Gaon Sabha meeting and from village and block level camps to institutional camps at the Panchayati Raj Training Centres. We started with the integrated training camps in which all aspects of Community Development Programme were dealt with,

during a period of seven days. In the early phase of the programme these camps proved very successful as these served the primary purpose of acquainting the village people with the objectives and content of Community Development Programme. These were also helpful in enlisting the participation of the people. But this could cater to a very minor fraction of the entire adult population of the area. Moreover this helped only in preparing general purpose leaders, if at all.

With the special emphasis on agricultural production came the scheme of training gram sahayaks. A three day's training programme as worked out to train the village people—good farmers, members of gaon panchayat, office bearers of cooperatives, in the improved methods of agriculture. With the launching of Kharif and Rabi campaigns these camps were further intensified to concentrate on agricultural production programmes. This led to the idea of holding of functional leaders camps with the objectives of training people in the particular field of their interest. Agriculture being the mainstay, the need continues to train every farmer in the improved techniques of agriculture.

Along with this scheme emphasis was also given on training of functional leaders in other fields such as programme for youth, women and artisans.

### *Training Perspective*

With the emergent situation prevailing in the country our training programme for village leaders has to add to itself the new dimension of equipping our village communities with the wherewithals of meeting the needs of increased production for the country. To meet the food requirements of the growing population we need to grow more from every field, to keep continued motivation of the people we need mass education.

To meet the above ends, the scheme of a village force has to be put into operation. It has two main aspects namely (a) Agriculture production and (b) Mass education. While both the aspects are equally important special attention has however, to be paid to the first for which the Community Development agency and Panchayat Raj Institutions are better equipped and on whom rests the main responsibility of carrying these programmes through.

Training programme for agriculture production and mass education will have to be organized at all the levels—village, block,

district and state. We are mostly concerned with the programme in the Community Development blocks where we have the requisite number of potential leaders, readily available. In fact the workers in Community Development block are only concerned with the local leadership.

In all these block level camps it will be very necessary to dwell at length on the roles the leaders are expected to play, and the specific jobs they are required to perform. Often the term 'Leader' has come to mean only those who ask others to do the job and keep their hands unsoiled. They only believe in giving commands to their followers. For the purpose of rural reconstruction what is required is a 'Worker Leader' i.e. one who works while he leads and leads while he works. A happy relationship has to be established between the leaders and those that are led. Hence during the course of training a practical scheme of working should be chalked out indicating the items of work and a pattern and method of implementing the works.

Similarly, camps will have to be organised for the youth leaders and mahila clubs at the block level. The emphasis will be again on agriculture production with a varying degree. While we may emphasize on kitchen gardening, poultry keeping for youth clubs we shall deal in detail on composting, interculture operations, selection of good seed for mahila clubs. For these two types we may pay emphasis on mass education. Lady members of Panchayat Samiti and Chairman of Welfare sub committee will have to be associated with these camps.

Likewise, camps may be organised in the village for the members of youth clubs, for boys and girls. Here again the official agency and the Sarpanch and Chairman of the Panchayat sub committees should jointly run the village camps. The contents and the method of conducting the camps would be almost the same, as described earlier. But there will be one difference in the sense, that specific purpose camps will have to be organised since the number of youth clubs per V. L. W. circle will be greater and each one will have a specified job to perform. For instance one camp may focus on agriculture production, two may be interested in mass education, the other may be responsible for recreational activities while the fifth one may take upon itself the job of promoting rural libraries. Should this contingency arise we should be prepared to organise such different types of camps as would serve their particular in-

terest. Then only the enthusiasm of the people will perhaps be sustained and a number of alternative interest camps be available

Needless to mention that while training programmes for specific purposes and specific functionaries are organised let us not forget that every able-bodied person in the village community is expected to participate in all the community works that are planned and implemented with a view to benefiting the entire community. Training is meaningful only when we are able to bring into operation what we have learnt. Theory and practice go together and one is useless without the other.

Thus it will be seen that quite a major section of the village population will have been usefully employed in the noble task of upliftment of the rural masses, and this is the real need of the time—food crisis—through which we are passing.

The last, but not the least, is the important question of close follow-up and provision of incentives to the good leaders. This is a role which the official machinery has to play in particular. Let us not repeat the mistake of confusing the means with the ends. What has been said in preceding pages is all about means. Ends are clearly visible if means are correct. Results are sure to be achieved if wishes are pious.

With good leadership, in all walks of life and discipline in everything, we can successfully meet any challenge.

#### *Issues that Emerge for Discussions*

- 1 How to define village worker leaders?
- 2 What should be the mechanics of locating good leader for training?
- 3 Which are the areas through which motivations and incentives for leadership roles can be disseminated?
- 4 What should be the structure and organisation of training schemes?

- (i) Peripatetic or institutional
- (ii) Governmental or Universities or other voluntary agencies
- (iii) Very short duration, medium duration or long duration
- (iv) In one block of time or at interspersed intervals

## Additional Changes and Leadership Trends

### A VILLAGE STUDY

*R. V. Ramakrishna*

Saramau is one of the five villages taken up by the Orientation and Study Centre, Bakshi Ka-Talab for intensive work under the 5 villages scheme

The scope of the present study is to

- (i) Trace the changes in the attitude of the people of Saramau, during the course of about a year, against the background in which the work was taken up
- (ii) A study of the leadership patterns in the village

#### *Information About the Villages*

Saramau village is about a mile from the main highway connecting Lucknow with Sitapur. It is about 2 1/2 miles from the Bakshi Ka Talab Railway Station.

Saramau is in Bakshi Ka Talab Block which was allotted in the year 1954. It is one of the four villages in Rampur Sada Panchayat. The village had some impact of the Community Development programme from the Gramsevak Training Centre, established in 1952, at Indaurabagh, which is 2 furlongs from Saramau. The Gramsevak Training Centre, is one of the premier institutions to train extension workers in the country; and during the last 11 years a cluster of training institutions have developed around it extending upto Saramau. In view of the development of the various training institutions and activities taken up by the Development Block, a number of amenities are available, within a short distance of Saramau by way of a Primary Health Centre, Veterinary Hospital, Post Office, Seed Store, etc. The village is well connected by the road leading to the cluster of training institutions.

The following are details of area, population, cropping pattern, etc of the village

Population	265
Families	46

#### *Agriculture*

Cultivable area	185 00	acres
Cultivated area	181 20	"
Double cropped area	137 24	"
Cultivated fallow	4 60	"
Uncultivable fallow	3 10	"
Garden Land	10 15	"
Irrigable area	185 00	"

#### *Cattle Wealth*

Cows	65
Buffaloes	91
Bullocks	68

There are five representatives from this village in the Rampur Sada Panchayat

#### *Reasons for Selecting Saramau for Work Under the 5 Villages Scheme*

Previous experience of work in Saramau had shown that this village would be most difficult for work in view of the apathy of the people. The Block staff and other people who had worked there before, considered Saramau to be a problem village. The situation was challenging and the Orientation and Study Centre thought that it would be in the fitness of things to work in such a challenging situation and bring round the people so that they could develop a positive approach and make best use of the programmes extended by the Block agency which was located so near the village. Successful work in this village was expected to establish the fact that the right type of extension approach would not fail to bring about results.

#### *Progress of Work and Attitudinal Changes*

Work started in this village in the middle of September, 1962. Even before this some members of the staff of the Orientation and Study Centre had made a number of approach to the village. The writer was able to get valuable information about the village from them. The Block authorities were contacted as a first step to collect background information regarding the village by way of basic data, programmes so far implemented in the village, names

of the members of the Panchayat from this village, and the experience of the Block staff of working in the village

After collecting as much information as possible regarding the village, initial visits were made to get acquainted with the people. During the first few visits no one paid any particular attention to the writer. Attempts made by the writer to introduce himself and to involve the people in some discussion met with no success. The people seemed to be most disinterested. Even the members of the panchayat were not responsive. Kewal who was said to be an influential leader of the village and a member of the Panchayat was contacted first. He did not care to talk with the writer even for a few minutes. The other members said that they were very busy to discuss anything.

The writer then tried to approach a few people of the village through Bajnath who was supplying milk to the O & S C hostels and to the residential colony nearby. Bajnath was very helpful and as a result the writer was able to meet a few people among whom Bhagwan Din, member of the Panchayat and Vishram, Lekhpur were important. Several meetings were held with the people. The following are the important points that emerged out of these discussions:

- 1 The people had deep seated grievance against the Pradhan
  - (a) he never visited the village,
  - (b) a suspicion that he made use of Panchayat funds for self interests and the interest of his village,
  - (c) he was more of a dictator than a democratic leader, and
  - (d) he had not helped the people in the completion of the pavement and culvert
- 2 The Block personnel, specially the Gram Sevak, never visited the village nor were the problems of the village given any attention to, by the Block
- 3 The land on which the O and S C buildings, staff quarters, etc., were built had been acquired by the Government, and to that extent the people of the village had been deprived of the source of their livelihood
- 4 There had not been any substantial benefit to the village by the development programme though the Block H Q was so near. The hand pump in the village had not been repaired

even after the people had agreed to pay for it. Work on the pavement in the village and a culvert had not been completed.

5 The trainees from the neighbouring training centres used to visit the village often for collecting information though no work was done in the village as a result of it. Sometimes the people felt that the collection of data by the trainees would result in the acquisition of more land.

6 The members of the Panchayat were not interested in attending the meeting of the Panchayat in view of their dislike of the Pradhan.

7 Some years back funds had been collected in the village to form a Cooperative Credit Society. The Cooperative did not come into existence nor were the funds returned to the people. Kewal was one of the sufferers.

8 No leadership was evident in the village. Neither the Panches nor any other person seemed to be important in the village. The people seemed to be more individualistic.

During the discussions the writer explained to the people the need for regular attendance in the Panchayat meetings to ensure that all decisions are taken in their presence and that there was no point in suspecting the Pradhan who was elected by them. The need of the Panchayat, its way of working, and its usefulness was explained to the people. The purpose of the survey work done by participants also was explained.

At this juncture the writer thought that it would be better to bring the Pradhan, Sri Muneshwar Singh, who lives in Deoria Khurd, about 10 furlongs from Saramau, to the village. The Pradhan was brought so that villagers and members of the Panchayat would be able to meet at one place and there could be some discussions on common problems. On the day the Pradhan came to Saramau it rained heavily and none of the villagers turned up to meet the Pradhan though he sent for some of them. Kewal, in front of whose house we were sitting, did not come out in spite of repeated requests. The other Panches were not available. On the same day invitations were issued to Kewal and Bhagwan Din requesting them to attend the meeting of the Action Committee of the 5 villages. The next day Kewal refused to receive the invitation at first but,

after much persuasion at the time of our departure from the village, he took the letter very reluctantly

Kewal and Bhagwandin attended the meeting of the Action Committee the next day. The details of the 5 village scheme were explained in the meeting. Kewal and Bhagwan Din did not participate in the discussions. But they agreed that informal meetings could be organised in the village provided the Pradhan would attend. It was also decided to start a literacy class for the village adults from 2nd October, 1962.

The Pradhan made two visits to the village and there were heated arguments regarding the shortcomings of the Pradhan and the Block agency. The meetings provided an opportunity for the release of their pent up grievances. At the end of the meetings the writer requested the people and the Pradhan to forget their past differences and to work for the interest of the village. The following important decisions were made

- (i) a meeting of the Panchayat should be convened at the earliest,
- (ii) that the five members of the Panchayat would attend the Panchayat meetings regularly,
- (iii) previous papers of the Panchayat relating to the acquisition of land by the O and S C construction of pavement and culvert may be discussed
- (iv) the financial position of the panchayat may be discussed

The literacy class was inaugurated on October 2, 1962. Sri Nankau Prasad, a resident of Sarmau and a teacher in one of the primary schools nearby, agreed to conduct the classes. In addition to the 22 adults who enrolled themselves for the class, a number of children from the village, between the age groups 6-12 also started attending classes. In order to keep these children engaged a Bal Mangal Dal was also organised. The literacy class continued for about four weeks when Sri Nankau Prasad was transferred to a new school 12 miles away. He had to leave Sarmau to have his headquarter at his place of work. The Bal Mangal Dal, however, continued to function. The members organised games in the village and grew vegetables in a common plot of land. While the literacy class and the Bal Mangal Dal were of great help in establishing better contact with the people of Sarmau the villagers were sore at the abrupt closing down of the literacy class.

During this period the proposed Panchayat meetings were held and all the problems of the people were discussed. On examining of the concerned papers it was found that the villagers also shared responsibility for the incomplete work on the pavement and culvert. The bricks that were sent by the Pradhan to the village for this work some months back were pilfered by the people in small quantities and there was no trace of the same now. The Pradhan also had made a mistake in sending old bricks. It was decided that the Pradhan would take up the matter with the Block authorities. One important lesson learnt by the five representatives of Saramau was that it was essential for them to attend Panchayat meetings. Though the meetings in the village served the very useful purpose of conducting the members regarding the utility of Panchayats, the position regarding the programmes of pavement and culvert, their suspicion of the Pradhan, however, was not reduced. But they had satisfaction of having been able to air their views and to see that the Pradhan also recognised them visiting their village. Since then the Pradhan has been visiting the village often and Panchayat meetings are regularly attended.

The writer started a radio listening forum in the village in the fourth week of December with the help of Perman and Bhagwan Din to enable the people to listen to Rural Areas Programme of All India Radio, Lucknow, for one hour every night. After the broadcast, detailed discussions were held with the village regarding the C D Programme, the emergency in the country, the background of the Chinese attack and the work to be taken by the people through V V F and D L B. During this period two meetings of the Panchayat were held where the action programme for the organisation for the V V F and D L B was discussed. The representatives of Saramau made specific commitments regarding the programmes in the village. The radio listening forum continued for a month and during this period the writer was able to establish friendly relationship with all the members of the community. As was evident from their talk, the people had begun to feel that the writer was not there to carry out surveys and go back, but he had real interest in the welfare of the people of the village. The V V F and the D L B were inaugurated on the 26th of January, 1963 and the people of the village, and children took part in the ceremony. Bhagwan Din was the leader of this function having taken full responsibility.

With the creation of a congenial atmosphere, it was considered that the time was ripe to take up some specific programmes to increase production in the village. Response of the villagers for the said programme and the Kharif programme in 1963 was very encouraging. Familywise production programmes were prepared and very good results were obtained by people who used fertilizer during the kharif Season. One of the cultivators Lasa Din, who has a bigger holding, was persuaded to plant sugarcane. The very good crop he has got had made him decide on expansion of area under sugarcane. A Balbadi was established in the village with the help of the Block authorities. Accommodation has been provided to house the Balbadi by Bhagwandin.

A new Gram Sevak has been working in this village for the last four months. He has been taking intense interest in the work of the village, and the people like him. They feel that for the first time, after many years, the Block has posted a sincere and sympathetic worker in their village.

While the agriculture programme is keeping pace with the changing attitudes of the people, it has since been decided that the unfinished work of the pavement and the culvert could be taken up for completion this year. This was decided in a meeting of the villagers which was attended by the Pradhan. While the cost of material and skilled labour would be met out of Panchayat funds, transport and unskilled labour would be provided by the people of the village.

Encouraged by the increasing response of the people the following three programmes were taken up for 100 percent saturation in the villages

- (i) 100 per cent saturation with improved wheat seed
- (ii) 100 per cent enrolment of children of school going age in the Primary School nearby
- (iii) 100 per cent enrolment in the Balbadi

The villagers meet the writer often at his residence and the office to discuss their problems.

The change in attitude in the villagers is attributed to the following factors

- (i) The visits of the Pradhan to the village to meet the people and discuss their problems

- (ii) A realisation of the need for attending Panchayat meeting and its usefulness to the village as a whole.
- (iii) The realisation that the incomplete pavement and culvert were partly due to the peoples own lack of initiative.
- (iv) The presence of a worker whose welfare of the people was realised and recognised.
- (v) Presence of a good Gram Sevak in the area to help the people.

#### LEADERSHIP PATTERN IN SARMAU

As indicated earlier in this study, one of the chief problems of Sarmau is the lack of leadership. During the course of his work in the village the writer has tried to explore possibilities for identifying and building up proper type of leadership in the village as this is a pre-requisite for the success of his work.

In the beginning it was expected that the elected members of the Panchayat would be useful contact men to start work. But once we started making a deeper study of the situation it was found that the people of the village were more individualistic in their views, were generally unconcerned about anything happening around them, and were not subject to the influence of any person or persons.

It took us some more time to establish a reasonable rapport in the village and get familiar with the local situation. The situation has now become a little bit clearer.

- (i) There is some sort of leadership in the village though not of the leader-follower pattern.
- (ii) Leadership exists in the form of a few persons who because of their economic status, personality, special prestige factors etc., are important persons in the village, though this is not openly acknowledged by others.
- (iii) Those persons are themselves not clear about their personality except one who is trying to develop a dominating role.
- (iv) One peculiar feature is that the people do not admit that there is any one in the village who influences their actions. But there is a general tendency to imitate or support or fall in line with the few important persons without in any way acknowledging this action. This is perhaps due to an inferiority complex and unwillingness to accept any leadership.

In order to get a clearer picture of the leadership in the village and individual study of the leaders of the village recognised by us has been attempted along with a sociogram to show the relationship of the recognised leaders amongst themselves and the nature of their relationship with others who are important because of some personal characteristics

### *Kewal*

He is a member of the Panchayat and by far the richest man in the village. He has about 12 acres of land, three houses, 6 buffaloes, 3 cows, 3 pairs of bullocks, a chaff cutter and some improved agricultural implements. He has a large family consisting of 18 members including the children. He lends money to the people of the village. In times of need, even people who do not like him approach for loans.

Of late Kewal has become communicative and responsive to our approaches. After the initial attempts, approaches were made through Kewal's son, who is a teacher and used to take adult literacy classes. Kewal also attended 2-3 classes in the beginning.

Kewal is a very interesting personality. When he is in a good mood he makes interesting conversation and is very humorous too. He is very frank and a keen businessman and always tries to analyse each problem in great detail considering all aspects. He resists innovations and has his own arguments in support of this. Sometimes these arguments are sound and are based on his experience in the field and dealings with Block personnel. Once he is satisfied that an idea is useful and is beneficial to him in terms of money returns or otherwise he would jump at it. This season he agreed to sow sun-hemp only after the Gram Sevak explained to him in detail the returns in terms of cash.

Kewal is about 70 years of age, simple in dress and habits. He still works hard in the fields. He is very much reserved and does not join other members of the village when they sit in groups for idle talk or discussion. He is usually found either at home or in the field. But he is a regular visitor to the weekly market in the villages round about Saramau to study the market rates and makes best use of the study, and has the present grain rates at his fingertips. He does not take keen interest in the local social and religious gatherings. During a recent Ramayan Saptah in the village he was just a casual visitor at the closing function.

Generally, the people of the village dislike him. Specific reasons are not given by anyone. But when his name is mentioned at any time they just smile. The general feeling is that he is very self-controlled.

With all the dislike the people have for Kewal it is observed that they have a tendency to imitate or follow some of his actions. They seem to feel that what is good for him is good for them also though they do not acknowledge it. He is an interesting personality in village where it is difficult to find specific leadership. Any study of Saramau is not complete without a reference to Kewal who is an institution in himself.

### *Perman*

He is a well to do person. He has about 9 acres of land, 6 buffaloes, 4 cows and 2 pairs of bullocks, chaff cutter and bullock cart. He has a large family. The important members of his family are his younger brother and the latter's three sons. Perman's first nephew works on land, the second nephew divides his time between supplying milk and working on land, the third one is the lekhpal of the area.

In view of the important post held by his young nephew, Perman enjoys a special prestige in the village. From the time consolidation work started in the village, Perman seems to have become an important man. Usually the people in the village approach him first to solve any problem regarding their land. Perman helps in solving the problems with the help of his nephew who is lekhpal. Normally, people do not approach the lekhpal directly.

Perman is the most vocal member of the community and is the dominating type. He takes full charge of any discussions in the village by the high pitch of his voice alone. He does not hesitate to express his displeasure regarding the work done in the village so far. His personality is such that his brother Chhote Lal is a non entity in the family.

All meetings of the village, social and cultural gatherings, are held in the front verandah of Perman's house. He takes active part in the fortnightly meetings. In the early stages of our work, in the village, Perman and his sons were of immense help in organising meetings, and helped in establishing contacts. Beneath a rough exterior Perman is a kind man. Due to his special position in the village he has ambitions of becoming a member of the panchayat in the next election.

Perman is one of the three cultivators in the village who grow sugarcane. He was very helpful in persuading Lasa Din to plan sugarcane this season near the Guest House.

### *Bhagwan Din*

He is a member of the Panchayat. Though he owns very little land he seems to be well off. He has two houses.

Bhagwan Din lives a simple life. He is honest and has cordial relations with everyone. He is liked by everyone, and is the usual peacemaker of the village. Quite often he is around solving internal squabbles in the village. Hence he is the most sought after man in the village and is widely respected.

He is very shy, soft spoken and a self effecting type. But for this he would become an excellent leader in the village. He has gradually become more vocal and takes part freely in the discussions. He has shown an objective approach to the problems of the village, and those of individuals. He is very helpful by nature. People in the village speak of instances when Bhagwan Din has given financial help to people without anybody's knowledge.

Meetings in the village are usually organised by Bhagwan Din. He takes the responsibility to inform everyone and collect them in time for the meetings. He was responsible to a large extent in organising the Village Volunteer Force and Defence Labour Bank Programmes, flag hoisting and taking of pledge on January 26, 1963 and initiating the shramdan work. Recently he has provided accommodation in his house to run the Balwadi.

### *Chhutkau*

He is a member of the Panchayat. He is fairly well literate, and is able to read and write. By virtue of this he enjoys a special status. As the teacher son of Kewal and the Lakhpal are usually away from the village, people usually go to Chhutkau to have their letters read.

Chhutkau is very good and polite by nature. He has a good personality and is a sober man.

Chhutkau is a clever man and is intelligent. He participates well in Panchayat meetings and the fortnightly village meetings. Usually he minds his own business, and is away from the village for considerable time, during the day, on some work or other. He had secured employment in the aerodrome, being constructed

nearby, to supervise labourers. He has very little land and he works as a hired labourer.

### THE SOCIOGRAM

An attempt has been made to study, (a) the relationship between Kewal, Perman, Bhagwan Din and Chhutkau and (b) their relationship with some of the prominent members of the village with the help of Sociogram.

The individuals were approached separately and during conversation indirect questions were put to elicit answers to the following:

- (i) Whom do you like most?
- (ii) With whom would you like to be associated most?
- (iii) With whom would you not like to be associated?
- (iv) Whom do you dislike?

In most cases persons referred to while answering questions (i) and (ii), and (iii) and (iv) were the same.

The following members were contacted for the study of Inter and Intra relationship patterns:

- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| 1. Kewal ..        | .. Member of Panchayat                      |
| 2. Perman ..       | .. Important person                         |
| 3. Bhagwan Din     | .. Member of Panchayat                      |
| 4. Chhutkau ..     | .. Do.                                      |
| 5. Nanhe ..        | .. Do.                                      |
| 6. Lasa Din ..     | .. Progressive cultivator                   |
| 7. Rai Dayal ..    | .. Do.                                      |
| 8. Chhote Lal      | .. Do.                                      |
| 9. Jagannath ..    | .. Do.                                      |
| 10. Suraj Bali ..  | .. Backward Class; sincere and hardworking. |
| 11. Nankaur Prasad | .. Teacher.                                 |
| 12. Heeraj ..      | .. Enthusiastic Supporter of Kewal.         |

The Sociogram brings out the following features:

#### *Friendship*

- (a) Bhagwan Din and Perman, Chhutkau } are first choices of  
& Nanhe, Perman and Chhote Lal. } each other.

- (b) Bhagwan Din and Perman are focus of the main friendship in the village
- (c) Chhutkau and Nanhe seem to be isolated from others in spite of their being members of the Panchayat

### *Popularity*

- (a) Bhagwan Din seems to be most popular with a good number of choice in his favour
- (b) One peculiar feature of Bhagwan Din's popularity is that it is a dependent relationship and not a mutual relationship. Bhagwan Din does not show any special likes and dislikes except for his special choice—Perman—who is a relative

This strengthens the belief that Bhagwan Din is the most popular member of the village. But he does not seem to reciprocate the feelings of certain members towards him nor does he show any dislikes. His popularity is supported by the individual study which has shown that he is much sought after man because of his good nature and fair-mindedness.

### *Hostility*

- (a) Kewal has the largest number of negative choices
- (b) Nanhe and Chhutkau are equal in their dislike of Kewal. Kewal also dislikes these two persons
- (c) Ram Dayal and Lasa Din dislike Kewal while he has no opinion to offer about them

### *Withdraw*

- (a) Jagannath, Heeraj, Chhote Lal and Suraj Bali seem to be insignificant members not thought of by others, either negatively or positively. Chhote Lal is Perman's brother and is the father of Vishram, the Lekhpāl
- (b) These are peripheral members whose approval or disapproval does not seem to matter

In the final analysis, three persons emerge out potential leaders of Saramau. They are Kewal, Bhagwan Din and Perman.

It would be of interest to see if it is possible to bring Kewal out of his isolation and motivate him to work for the benefit of the community in which he lives. He is eminently suited to become a progressive leader of the community. He has qualities of a good

leader except for his selfishness. But he is amenable to reason and responds well to new innovations, if he is built up as a progressive cultivator the others will try to copy his efforts for their own betterment. To bring round Kewal would be a long drawn process, nevertheless every attempt should be made to motivate him to work for the benefit of the community.

Bhagwandin has qualities of a good leader. But he is too much introverted and lacks the dynamism to be able to influence people in their actions though he commands the respect of the whole community. It is possible to build him up into a peace maker so that he is able to maintain good relations between the members of the community by virtue of his good nature and the goodwill that he commands. This can be done by gradually giving him responsible tasks which he would be able to perform with the help of the other members.

Perman appears to be the only person who can lead the community in all respects immediately. He has progressive ideas and the personality to influence people in all actions. Hitherto he has not been given the importance due to him and persuaded to work for the common good. He should be given some specific responsibilities, and his personality is such that if he is convinced of a particular programme and its objectives, he would not hesitate to mobilise people for its successful implementation. Perman is closely related to Bhagwan Din and they have a mutual understanding of the problems of the village. Due to this Perman would always be able to have Bhagwan Din's backing and once they team up it is expected that other people in the village would also follow suit, therefore, imperative in their interest of the village to cultivate Perman to the maximum extent possible and through him build up Bhagwan Din also. Perman has responded well in attempts to motivate him to become an initial innovator of new practices with the goodwill Bhagwan Din has in the community, will undoubtedly help in the development of an ideal team.

## Social Welfare Administration

G R Madan

India under British rule was essentially a Police State. After Independence India adopted the pattern of a Welfare State. In September 1950 the Indian National Congress in its 56th Session held at Nasik accepted Welfare State as its immediate objective. The concept of Welfare State was embodied in Part IV of our Constitution under the Directive Principles of State Policy. The Welfare State has to look towards the welfare of all with a declared bias in favour of the needy, neglected and weaker section of the community. Besides some of the other important functions, the provision of social services, social welfare services and social security measures form an important ingredient of a welfare state<sup>1</sup>. Thus the importance of social welfare administration in a country like ours hardly needs any emphasis.

In the words of Professor Titmus 'Social administration may broadly be defined as the study of the social services whose object, to adopt Simey's phrase, is the improvement of the condition of life of the individual in the setting of family and group relations. It is concerned with the historical development of these services, both statutory and voluntary, with the moral values implicit in social action, with the roles and functions of the services, with their economic aspects, and with the part they play in meeting needs in the social process. On the one hand, then, we are interested in the machinery of administration which recognizes and dispenses various forms of social assistance, on the other hand, in the lives, the needs, and mutual relations of those members of the community for whom the services are provided by reasons of their belonging

<sup>1</sup> For functions of a Welfare State in detail see Purcell MPO, *The Modern Welfare State* (London) 1933. Also Robson, W. A. *The Welfare State* (London) 1957.

to that community" <sup>2</sup> In this paper we shall confine ourselves to the former aspect that is the machinery of administration which recognizes and dispenses various forms of social services

### *Objective of Social Welfare Administration*

The administration of public and private agencies is designed and organised to achieve the full effect of the services for which they have been established. The skills of administration have not been limited to social welfare setting. They are derived from public administration in general and from the techniques of business management. But the special objective of social services—to help human beings—is an element which distinguishes the management of social agencies from that of commercial and industrial enterprises, and to lesser degree, from other public services that do not directly deal with human beings. The welfare administration like any other administration requires clear objectives, functions, policies, an efficient organisational structure, coordination of services, precise staff organisation, sound methods of selections and promotion of personnel, decent working conditions and fiscal accounting for efficient management. But social services also require, thorough experience and familiarity with the philosophy, the structure and the methods of social welfare including knowledge of social legislation and sound welfare practice <sup>3</sup> The field of welfare services is very wide, and includes education, health, housing, labour welfare and welfare services for various groups such as children, youth, women, handicapped persons, etc. It will not be possible to deal with all the welfare services in this paper. We shall confine here only to social welfares proper, which are specialised services meant to enable handicapped and maladjusted individual and groups to reach their full potential.

### *Problems of Welfare Agencies*

The administrative problems of welfare agencies in India which need attention are planning of welfare programmes in individual agencies as well as planning as a whole, fixation of priorities between various programmes due to limited resources, coordination among agencies, their functions, personnel management, finances, etc. Some of these problems are common to welfare services all over

<sup>2</sup> Titmus R. M., *Essays on The Welfare State* (London) 1958 pp 14-15

<sup>3</sup> Friedlander W. A. *Introduction to Social Welfare* (Englewood Cliffs) 1955 p 568

the world, while some are peculiar to our country because of its backwardness. These problems may consequently be discussed for two types of agencies separately, viz. Public agencies and private agencies, though this demarcation is not rigid.

### *Public Agencies*

The planning of welfare programmes for the country is done by the Planning Commission along with the overall planning of the country as a whole. In order to plan for social welfare services (1) the assessment of resources is made (2) priorities are fixed among various programmes to give more emphasis to some over the other (3) targets are laid down to achieve certain results within a specified time (4) planning is done at different levels i.e., Central, State, Regional, District, Town, Block and Village level. Planning is often done with the consent of the people in consonance with democratic tradition. Planning for social welfare implies the simultaneous and to some extent basic planning for economic well-being in a country where most of the social ills arise from unemployment, underemployment, economic want, and relatively low standard of living.

In planning for social welfare services certain difficulties have to be faced some of which are common to all countries while some have arisen because of certain special features of our country. These are firstly administrative difficulties which arise because of diversity and complexity of social welfare programmes which cannot be handled by a single agency, secondly as in social welfare we have to deal with human motivation it is difficult to lay down physical targets as in the economic field. Thirdly, there is lack of statistics and correct knowledge of social problems in this country.<sup>4</sup>

Fourthly, there is to be more emphasis on voluntary action than on government assistance due to scarcity of resources in this country. Due to multiplicity of agencies having no uniformity in their policy, it becomes difficult to have planning. Fifthly, due to lack of leadership and trained personnel in welfare agencies the execution of plans become difficult. But in spite of all these difficulties planning has to be done in this field as in all other fields, as it has got certain advantages over haphazard development. However, it needs pointing out that in the execution of Social Welfare Programmes,

<sup>4</sup> For details see articles Statistics in the Social Welfare Field by V. M. Dandekar in *Social Welfare in India* Planning Commission Government of India (1960).

the achieving of physical targets should not be too much emphasised at the cost of qualitative progress as it involves human adjustment

In fixing priorities it is to be seen that more emphasis is laid on preventive than on curative measures. Thus programmes relating to children belonging to the weaker sections are to be given priority to avoid delinquency, prostitution and beggary. Special emphasis is to be laid on programmes where people earn while they learn. Providing them employment after training is another aspect which must receive due attention.

### *Co-ordination of Welfare Agencies*

At the Central level there are various ministries which deal with social welfare programmes. These include ministries of education, health, home affairs, labour, social security and community development. The Central Social Welfare Board functions as an autonomous body under the general administration control of the Ministry of Social Security.<sup>5</sup> The new Department of Social Security has been created recently on the recommendations of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes (1959) whose function will be to formulate welfare programme.<sup>6</sup> However in certain problems co-ordination with other ministries will be essential. For example in the treatment of handicapped and their organic rehabilitation, co-ordination with Ministry of Health will be necessary.

At the state level there are separate directorates or departments of social welfare in some states. In other states social welfare subjects are spread over many departments.<sup>7</sup> It will be better if some of the services particularly child, woman, youth and certain services for maladjusted and unadjusted are dealt with by one single department. The functions of this department should be formulation of policies and planning, initiation and execution of certain schemes (not covered by the State Social Advisory Board), and administration of correctional and preventive legislation while

<sup>5</sup>For its detailed functions see *The Central Social Welfare Board* by P. K. Kulkarni (Bombay 1961).

<sup>6</sup>There is still lot of confusion about its functions and designation but it is hoped that in due course of time it will work as a Ministry of Social Security and Social Welfare. For its detailed functions see article by Renuka Ray, *The New Department of Social Security* in *Social Welfare* Annual Number December, 1964.

<sup>7</sup>For details see *Plans and Prospects of Social Welfare in India (1951-1961)* Chapter XV (Planning Commission Government of India) 1963.

the main responsibility for the co-ordination among voluntary agencies and giving them grant-in aid will rest with the State Social Welfare Board. At the district level there are social welfare officers in some states while in others again different departments have got their own officers to deal with particular groups. Here also there is need of appointing social welfare officers to deal with social welfare activities including welfare of Backward Classes. The functions of the welfare officer should be the co-ordination of all welfare schemes in the district, supervision of schemes sponsored by the social welfare department and to assist the sub-committee of the Zila Parishad on Social Welfare in implementing its programme in the district. The schemes will mainly be executed through the voluntary agencies. At the block level the sub-committee of the Kshetra Samiti will supervise the welfare programmes with the assistance of the social education organiser and the Asstt Development Officer (Women).

#### *Programmes of Central Social Welfare Board*

The main function of the Central Social Welfare Board is to assist voluntary welfare programmes for three specific groups viz., women, children and the handicapped. It also coordinates the welfare schemes of various Central Ministries and State Governments.<sup>8</sup> Another of its functions is to develop new programmes of welfare and organise pilot projects. The Board carries out most of its programmes through the State Social Welfare Advisory Board in various states. The division of functions between these advisory boards and the state welfare department have recently been discussed by the Study Team on Social Welfare (1959). While the main functions of the State Welfare Advisory Board will be to give grants in aid to the voluntary organisation and co-ordination of their activities, that of social welfare department will be the initiation of social welfare legislation, regulation of institutions, administration of maintenance grants, etc. The special programmes of the Central Social Welfare Board which need mention are Rural Welfare Extension Projects, Urban Family Welfare Scheme, After-Care Homes for Rescued Women and Discharged Persons, Urban Welfare Extension Projects, Night Shelters for the Shelterless, Holiday Homes for Children and few

<sup>8</sup>Rao C. V. H. *The Central Social Welfare Board in Social Welfare in India* (Government of India) 1960 p. 12

other programmes including training of welfare workers. It will not be possible to examine here all the programmes of the Central Social Welfare Boards. But it may be pointed that the welfare programmes in rural areas lack local initiative. The projects of the integrated pattern, started since 1958, are wholly government sponsored and no efforts are being made to transfer these projects to the local people. To create good social workers, there is need of imparting social education on an extensive scale emphasising community interest over individual interests. There is also confusion about responsibility of various departments such as State Social Welfare department, Ministry of Community Development and Co operation and Central Social Welfare Board in running these programmes. It will be better if the whole work is entrusted to one department. Similarly the projects of original pattern are being run by social welfare agencies which have no concern with those areas. The urban welfare extension projects are also not working satisfactorily, as the association of local people in these projects is lacking.<sup>9</sup> The functions of the Central Board were examined by the Study Team on Social Welfare which has suggested certain changes to improve its working.<sup>10</sup> It is hoped that these changes are being brought about.

#### *Administration of Voluntary Agencies*

The working of most of the voluntary agencies is still far from satisfactory. There are various reasons for this. Sometimes there is multiplicity of agencies in one field and dearth in the other. There is lack of good leadership, resources and trained personnel which make their working inefficient. Some of the agencies deal on sectarian and caste basis which also lead to inefficiency and duplication of services.

To avoid duplication and waste of resources there should be registration and licensing of agencies. Those agencies whose working is quite unsatisfactory may be weeded out, while those which can be improved should be assisted. The counselling service

<sup>9</sup> Besides these two projects I also visited three more social welfare agencies in Lucknow viz Condense Course of Education for Adult Women of the C S W B and State After care Home of Ex T B Patients and State After-care (Home for women) of the State Government. The working of all these projects needs improvement. The difficulty is that once the project is started no evaluation of their working is done by an expert with the result that the defects in their working exist for a long time.

<sup>10</sup> See *Report of the study Team on Social Welfare* (1959) p 33

should be provided by the State Social Welfare Boards, as recommended by the Study Team on Social Welfare, to improve their working. To increase their efficiency there should be co-ordination of these agencies. The co-ordination is to be both on functional and regional basis. An agency can be a member of the functional as well as local Co-ordinating Council. The Co-ordinating Councils may be set up in all municipal areas.

There is often conflict between the voluntary office bearers and the executive staff of the agency. To avoid this confusion the general policy should be laid down by the Board, while a measure of freedom may be given to the executive officers within the sphere of their technical competency<sup>11</sup>. In order to employ trained personnel two steps will be necessary. Firstly, the financial position of these agencies may be improved and secondly the trained personnel may be made available to these agencies of which there is dearth at present. In order to improve their financial position at present grants are given by the Central Social Welfare Board and the State Social Welfare Department. But grant in aid system is not sufficient in itself. Voluntary organisations will have to raise funds from the public. In view of the changed socio-economic structure, raising funds from public has become increasingly difficult. The organisation of community chests as in the U.S.A. and Canada can go a long way in solving this problem. It will not only help in raising funds, but in fair distribution of funds according to the needs of particular agencies.

There is a paucity of trained social workers both for public and private social welfare agencies. This is specially so for the expanding programmes in the rural areas for women and child welfare services and tribal welfare. A rough estimate of personnel of different categories required, both for public and voluntary agencies, was made by the Study Team on Social Welfare<sup>12</sup>. The training programme have already been taken up by certain governmental and voluntary organisations. However, certain additional training centres will be needed to have adequate number of welfare personnel.

To improve the standard of welfare personnel, who have been working for a long time in the existing institutions, short term

<sup>11</sup> For efficient running of voluntary agencies see Chowdhury D. Paul *Social Welfare Administration Through Voluntary Agencies* (Delhi) 1962.

<sup>12</sup> *Report of the Study Team on Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes* (1959), p. 253.

in-service training courses will be very useful. These centres can also run refresher courses for those who have completed a period of actual work in the field.

The service conditions of workers in the welfare departments are not at par with other government department. Similarly the condition of employees in voluntary agencies are not satisfactory. In the former case to give adequate incentive to welfare workers the organisation of a separate cadre of personnel at the centre and in the states is very essential. To provide security of service to employee of voluntary organisation certain rules and regulations may be made by the state for these institutions.

### *Social Research*

In order to tackle any social problem in a planned manner, social surveys will have to be taken at the community, state and central level, depending upon a particular problem. For example, the problems of beggary, prostitution, drinking, etc. will have to be tackled at all India level Crime and juvenile delinquency may be tackled at the state level and recreational services at the community level. The survey may be either on a census or sample basis. In order to remove the defects in existing programmes their evaluation by an independent authority attached to a University is also necessary. The evaluation report should be submitted to the department concerned. It is the duty of the department to see that defects pointed out by the expert are removed by the agencies concerned.

Lastly, there is need of Appointing Committees and Commissions, more often, to review the working of welfare programmes which are expanding very rapidly<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> At present there is lot of confusion and overlapping in the functions of the State Social Welfare Department and State Social Welfare Advisory Board. We have also referred about the confusion in the working of rural welfare extension projects and functions of the new ministry. For all this there is need of appointing a committee to review their working.

## Social Aspects of Agrarian Relations

*P. L. Raut*

Agrarian relations are different from industrial relations inasmuch as there are no well defined, organised and permanent groups of employers and employees in agriculture as we find in industry. An agrarian society is very often composed of land owners, tenants and share croppers, landless labourers and other rural functionaries. It is just possible that despite the diversity of economic interest there might be social harmony and better mutual understanding and adjustment based on values and considerations other than purely economic in the various sections of a rural community. Though there are instances in world history of violent and mighty agrarian revolts, yet comparative to a predominantly industrial society a traditionally agrarian or even feudal society with all its evils of exploitation and oppression of the mass of peasantry and proletariat maintains some of its relations of traditional individual bounds and social integration. It has been so, mainly, in India where the social relations of the landlord and his tenants could not assume, except in sporadic cases, any organised violent shape even when they grew worst. Yet the question of the social aspects of the agrarian relations is worth analysis, particularly in context of a growing economy. The purpose of the present paper is to draw attention towards some of the main aspects of this problem.

In predominantly agricultural countries agriculture is a phenomenon more of human relationship than that of relation between man and land. The struggle between the various sections of society sometimes becomes more poignant than the one between man and nature. The original settlers on land obtained land for them after conquering natural hurdles, but during the course of time the land rights underwent tremendous changes making a few as owners of the scarce land resources, while the vast tilling communities being reduced to virtual serfdom. This was the

starting point of the fight for land between man and man and as such, also the beginning of the creation of agrarian relationships. We have different experiences in different parts of the world either of aggravation or of mitigation of the situations in the history of agrarian relations at various times. In the not too distant history of our own country we find that a feudal system of society imposed by an alien power flourished in different forms with innumerable types of tenures and varying degrees of conflicting and cumbersome interests. During its brief history of about two centuries, this system divided the entire agrarian society into a handful of haves at the top, consisting of parasitic and unproductive class of intermediaries, between the state and the tiller of the soil, and the have nots consisting of vast mass of humanity at the bottom exposed to the rapacious exploitation, and merciless oppression by the former, yet toiling under the most abject conditions of poverty, starvation and humiliation. Fortunately that class of intermediaries is gone now giving an opportunity to the peasantry to own and cultivate land. In order to maintain traditional values of justice and fair play an equitable compensation, and in many states rehabilitation grants have been paid to the intermediaries so that they might rehabilitate as honourable and useful members of the society. The silent and peaceful agrarian revolution that took place during the post independence era is typically evolutionary rather than revolutionary, and unlike the agrarian reforms in countries like Russia and China aims at maintaining the social coherence and harmony as a necessary pre condition for the more systematic and peaceful social transformation and economic change.

Agrarian reforms consisting of abolition of intermediary rights, consolidation of holding, imposition of ceiling on maximum holdings and redistribution of holdings, etc, have been implemented recently in different parts of the country, and they have brought a significant social and economic change in their wake. It could however, be asserted without any fear of contradiction that these measures have not fully succeeded in their objectives of an efficient agriculture, the establishment of a casteless and classless cooperative rural community, free from exploitation and increased opportunities for fuller employment for the underemployed and underprivileged class of small holders and landless proletariat and much remains to be desired towards these objectives.

*Concentration in Ownership of Land*

Various studies conducted during the recent years reveal that the agrarian reforms have brought about the little change either in the extent of ownership or in the cultivatory possession of the land. It would be worthwhile to recollect in this context that the results of the National Sample Survey (8th round) reveal glaring disparities of land ownership. According to this 22 per cent of rural families have no land, another 53 per cent families who own upto 5 acres each had only 16 per cent of the total land. The 24 per cent families, who held between 5 and 19 acres each owned 68 per cent of the total area. Only 1 per cent families owned more than 50 acres, but they held 16 per cent of the total area. Similarly with regard to the cultivatory possession, about 34 per cent families cultivated less than one acre each, 64 per cent families cultivated less than 5 acres each and 16 per cent of the total area, while 1 per cent families cultivated more than 50 acres each and hold 14 per cent of total cultivated area. Similar are the trends brought to light by the Agriculture Labour Enquiry as well as the Rural Credit Survey. A study conducted by the present author regarding the social and economic impact of land reforms in the Western parts of Uttar Pradesh reveals that after the land reforms there has been no change in ownership of land in case of 75.3 per cent of the rural families. What is more significant from a social point of view is that whatever little change has taken place, is in favour of upper castes and classes of rural socio economic hierarchy. While there has been an increase in case of 33.9 per cent and 22.2 per cent families, respectively, belonging to upper and intermediate castes, the increase in land ownership of the lower castes has been only 9.8 per cent. The area of land under the actual cultivation of various caste groups would prove the dominance of upper and intermediate castes pointing out to the injustices of the land dis-

<i>Caste groups</i>	<i>Percentage of area under cultivation (1951-52)</i>	<i>Percentage of area under cultivation (1956-57)</i>	<i>Percentage of households</i>
Upper	55.1	52.0	32.3
Intermediate	33.1	35.2	27.8
Lower	4.9	6.4	21.4
Muslims	6.9	6.4	18.5
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

tribution meted out to the less privileged so-called lower castes as indicated in the table below by the percentage distribution of land under cultivation of each social groups

Here we find that most of the land continues to be under the cultivatory possession of the upper and intermediate caste groups. In case of Muslims there is actually a decrease in possession of land, while in case of other social groups there is insignificant increase. This disparity may give rise to social tensions in course of time and may thus jeopardise the agrarian relations.

### *Continuance of Exploitation*

Some of the social unrest that came to surface during the post-land reform era was in those parts of the country where large scale evictions took place either in the name of right of resumption by the owner or through various malafide or even coercive processes. The result was that a large number of tenants were dispossessed of the land they had been cultivating, in several cases probably for generations. Large scale resumptions and evictions gave further rise to the practices of sub tenancy and share cropping which are virtually the tools for exploitation.

The recent and growing tendency in favour of self cultivation has further tended to deprive the landless to cultivate as sub tenants or as share croppers to some extent particularly the farmer, as share cropping is still practised under various garbs. Some opinions have recently been expressed in favour of the continuance of sub tenancy and share cropping on the grounds of compassion as well as agrarian expediency. The Panel on Land Reforms also recognised the desirability of allowing land holders, who suffer from some physical infirmities or are minors or widows etc., the right to sublet. Besides, it can also be argued that if letting is completely prohibited, it would not be administratively possible to enforce it, beside making the land system too much rigid by checking the land owning population to migrate in favour of non-farm occupations. It must however, be emphasised that every possible care should be taken to grant security of tenures and fixity of rentals to the tenants. So long provisions regarding security of tenure and regulation of rents are not effectively enforced the system would remain as a sheer exploitation, a glaring social injustice and misuse of the helplessness of resourceless proletariat. It is no benevolence or justice that about 1/5 of the non owning

cultivators are compelled to pay 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the produce as rents

Hence while sub leases can, and should be allowed on reasonable terms, well regulated and effectively enforced in the interest of the better agrarian relations and higher agricultural production, there seems to be no equal justification for the continuance of share-cropping of the land of the absentee land owners, who in most cases, might be carrying on some more gainful occupations. My own study in U P reveals that, while the sub tenancy was on decrease, the practice of share cropping is still prevalent. Of the entire cultivating community while 51 per cent rural families having 36 per cent of the total cultivated area, cultivate as *Asamis*, 12.6 per cent families having 20.3 per cent of cultivated areas cultivate as *bataidars* or share croppers. Most of the sub tenants and share croppers belong to the intermediate and lower caste and class groups of the rural socio economic structure. Of the entire class of sub tenants the intermediate and lower caste families constitute respectively 45.6 per cent and 39.10 per cent. This proves that it is mainly the already depressed castes and class groups of the rural social hierarchy which are still being exploited by the richer upper castes and classes owning land in the villages. This, again, is an unfavourable and dangerous situation which may tend to embitter agrarian relations in rural communities.

### *The Weakest Link*

The farm labourer continues to be the weakest link of our agrarian structure. Little, in effect, has been done to ameliorate his plight. According to the Census of 1961, of the 131 million persons engaged in cultivation, 99.5 million are cultivators and 31.5 million are farm labourers. They constitute 18.9 per cent of the entire rural working force. It means that nearly one out of every five workers in rural areas one is a farm labourer. This percentage is as high as 20.3 in West Bengal, 21.8 in Maharashtra, 24.4 in Bihar, 29.00 in Madras and 31.4 in Andhra Pradesh. We should therefore, recognise not only the social and economic importance of a contented and secure agricultural labour force as a vital section of agrarian society, but should also realise the threat and danger to our democratic socio political structure in general and agrarian peace in particular, from its frustrations, insecurities, sufferings and discontents.

The uncertainties of employment, low and unregulated wages, complete absence of social security measures, degrading and humiliating social indignities and in some cases even mortgage of personal liberties to work as bond slaves on the farms of rich creditors in lieu of incredibly high interests etc.; are some of the anomalies of the life of agricultural labourers.

A solution of the problems of this class, therefore, would eliminate major chances of social tensions, frustrations and discontents fraught with potentialities of social disintegration and unrest. Towards this end some land may be made available to them, though there are limitations from quick reclamation measures and from redistribution of surplus land obtained after imposition of ceilings at still lower levels. But, as I said earlier, neither there is enough land for all nor is it necessary to settle all the landless labourers on uneconomic plots of land. What therefore, is necessary is to enable them to move to non-farm occupations in a planned way. This requires education and vocational training facilities on a mass scale. For those who still remain in agriculture as labourers, security and continuity of employment, minimum wages fixed on a new basis of present cost of living, social securities and social uplift measures would meet the ends of justice. In any case, for the sake of agricultural productivity and better agrarian relations, this weakest link of rural society must be strengthened.

### *Social Justice vs. Productive Efficiency*

Social justice and productive efficiency have been regarded as the cornerstones of our agrarian policy during the plan-periods. Somehow there seems to be a bit of confusion about the connotation and the relative importance of these concepts. It is quite natural in the context of an underdeveloped country, which has recently freed herself from colonial exploitation and domination, where justice has been denied for a long time and which has not committed herself to democratic socialism, to lean more in favour of social justice. It would, however, be proper to cast a note of warning against any undue emphasis being laid on the concept of "justice" at the cost of "production". Ownership, equality and individual freedom are really very good, and all possible efforts should be made to grant ownership of land to the actual tillers to reduce distributive inequalities and to minimise compulsion. But, at the same time, care should be taken that larger national

interests of production are not sacrificed for any pious concepts, particularly when we are proceeding on the lines of planned economic development

To my mind a hungry people care more for bread than for abstract justice. There is no greater justice to society than to provide it with more food and other wherewithals of a civilized life. In order to induce a cultivator to produce more, it is not enough to ensure that the piece of land belongs to him. It is also necessary to tell him that whatever his labour and capital, produce on this land also belongs to him. And that he has an unfettered right to enjoy the same. To produce more, and let those who produce, use it in the best interest of their own as well as the society, may pave the way for the better agrarian understanding, greater justice and peace. There can be no co-existence between social justice on the one hand and starvation and poverty on the other. Hunger has rocked many a society in the world history. Hence the most robust aspects of our agrarian policy must be freedom from starvation and scarcity.

At the same time our agrarian pattern should not be allowed to serve the purpose of the perpetuation of outmoded and irrational social values. It should, on the other hand, transform the society itself. If an attempt is made to distribute land universally irrespective of considerations of an efficient farming, it would further have a deteriorating effect on farm production. Likewise there seems to be too much emphasis on the right of ownership and no agrarian reform is regarded ideal unless it confers universal ownership of land. No doubt it would be an ideal if all the tillers may own the land they till. But in the context of rural overpopulation and existence of a large number of dwarf and uneconomic holdings in the face of acute shortage of land resources, it seems no longer possible or practicable that everybody gets land or the ownership of the land he cultivates. Indian rural society as it is, or even when transformed under the impact of modern industrial or technological change, is sure to provide room for tenancy rights. Therefore, in case of such tenancy rights what is more important is the security of tenure and security of improvement and regulation of rents. I wish our society could achieve the ideal of universal land ownership, yet I would wish you to realise the practical limitations of such an ambition. What is practical and also achievable is the opportunity to cultivate under best possible conditions for

efficient farming and for more equitable distribution of the produce

Even when I conceive of joint cooperative farms or inter-farm cooperatives, I uphold that the independence of the farmer or the body of the farmers to plan and systematise farm management and farming operations should not be sacrificed for any dogmas or any regimented value loaded approach. For ideal agrarian relations there should be adequate degree of context of national developmental planning and he should be given fullest opportunity for fuller development of his personality.

#### AGRARIAN POLICY FOR PROSPERITY AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

It is therefore, necessary that we should evolve a suitable agrarian policy which may lead our society to prosperity and better social understanding. Our agrarian relations should aim at eliminating all the present and potential possibilities of social tensions. Social dynamics of the modern Indian villages has undergone a change during the recent years under the impact of institutional changes introduced with the abolition of intermediaries, establishment of Panchayati Raj and democratic decentralisation, community development programme, and a growing voluntary cooperative sector. Under such circumstances a suitable agrarian policy would create the necessary atmosphere for agrarian peace, social integration and rapid economic growth. It would be worthwhile to summarise below the essential features of such a policy.

In a predominantly agricultural country like India agrarian relations have a great impact on the social conditions. What kind of society we ultimately aim at building, would to a great extent depend upon what agrarian pattern and policy we adopt and in what manner we regulate the mutual relations of all sections engaged in cultivation. A democratic socialist society would require democratisation of agrarian structure and rural institutions and would aim at economic prosperity of all the sections of the community and social justice being reflected in equality of opportunity and freedom to work and live. For the establishment of village cooperative commonwealth there should be greater cooperative activity at the village level in the cultivatory as well as non cultivatory operations. Adoption of more intensive methods of mixed farming as commercial ventures and the simultaneous,

planned yet gradual migration of rural surplus man-power from the farm-sector to non-farm sectors to be developed along with in a big way in the countryside itself, may be practical solution for rampant underemployment amongst the small holders and the agricultural proletariat. Rapid rural industrialisation would solve ultimately many an agrarian problem which has assumed formidable proportions. I have no hesitation to observe that land holders having uneconomic holdings, say below 5 acres, should either be enabled forthwith to pool their land and other resources for joint mixed farming or should be gradually encouraged through technical training and education to migrate to non agricultural sectors, so that the man land ratio may improve and operational units of farming may become more economic and efficient. It must, however, be stressed that the movement from uneconomic holdings demands the pre-existence of a growing rural industrial sector alongwith increasing facilities for rural electrification, transportation and education, general as well as technical, available in the village. In order to facilitate transfer of small holdings, provision in the law can be made, besides, providing incentives to dispose of land. All these situations would strengthen the bargaining power of the farm labourer and would ultimately help establish healthier agrarian relations. A prosperous, skilled, resourceful and fully employed agrarian community would pave the way for the better agrarian relations based on human dignity, mutual understanding, social and economic justices as necessary ingredients and pre requisites for a progressive society and accelerated economic growth.

## Summary of Discussion

The General Chairman pleaded for a new dimension to the approach to Planning, for a unified, methodological procedure, harmonizing and coordinating the various social science targets and goals with values. This demanded a comprehensive social philosophy which would investigate and harness the net-work of social institutions resting on dominant values and traditions.

Many values and traditions had to be changed and new institutions built up in accord with the socialistic pattern of society. Economics alone could not deal with the entire range of factors and trends involved in the total process of social and cultural transformation. The Indian Plan and policy should accordingly work in close association with the total knowledge in the realm of the social sciences. The Chairman emphasised that the country's planned economy also showed a lop-sided and disharmonious advance and in the wake of rural backwardness and population explosion, some far-reaching changes in the Plan would be necessary. He mentioned, in the field of agriculture and the village, absence of adult education, inequality of income, caste and class antagonism, and lack of unison of public opinion as the major impediments to planned progress. To usher in an efficient, affluent and just society, rural industrialization and stabilization of agricultural workers should obtain high priority. Proper utilization of regional resources, metropolitan planning and development of vast ravine-stricken and water-logged areas crossing State boundaries could only be achieved through inter-state regional planning boards. Along with the private and the public sector, he also stressed the importance of the establishment of a third sector viz., the cooperative sector.

The three sectional Chairmen, Professors Baljit Singh, P. N. Masaldan and R. N. Saksena emphasized that there was no alternative to a systematic social planning. Drastic administrative reforms should be effected, and a tripod-liason of the policy-maker,

administrator and the social scientist established. The discussion on a variety of subjects like models of growth, planned social change, research traditions for planning, action research, role analysis of rural workers, emergence of rural leadership, bureaucracy and public opinion converged on problems based on empirical research and human motivation. It focused attention to the dichotomies that existed between theory and practice. The majority of discussants favoured evolutionary changes. A few pressed the need of compulsion, a sharp departure from tradition by coercion for bringing about quick economic gains and attitudinal changes. On the whole democratic planning was agreed to, but the tools advocated for achievement of the goals showed a colourful variety, ranging from methods of consensus to collectivization by the vote of the majority.

The Seminar agreed in stressing the importance of a tripod (Policy-Maker, Administrator and Social Scientist) for bringing about a unification of social science in the service of planning. The papers presented a variety of angles as to how the various social sciences could be utilised for planned social change. The General Chairman wanted not only an inter disciplinary but trans-disciplinary and holistic approach. It was necessary, he said, to integrate, reconcile and correlate values with goals and arrive at a social philosophy. Efforts should be made to understand a long-continuing social system and culture through the combination of empirical with normative methods. He rejected Parson's theory of social systems as inadequate, and advocated a theory of social constellations, resting on a dominant set of values, traditions and institutions.

Several discussants apprehended dangers of terminological confusion and also emphasized the lack of consistency of a theory of change and the infancy of applied research traditions in social science. With the universal advocacy of inter disciplinary approach to planning research, the discussants urged the need of standardization of novel terms and of integrated social diagnosis.

Planning involved two categories of social scientists—(i) those who worked in research units of Government and (ii) those who belonged to the various Universities and Research Organizations. Much of the success of the planner depended on interchange and interdependence of the tripod in a democratic set up with opportunities for informal discussion in all sectors and dimensions.

Lengthy discussion took place in respect of the urgent need of radical reforms in the administrative structure to suit a free democratic society. The administrative aspect had been neglected by the planners so far. The questions of morale, training, public relations and relations between the superiors and the subordinates also required the attention of the social scientists. The attitude of the citizen and the need of subordination of private to public interest as well as the social significance of conduct and morale of leaders were matters of concern not only for the planners but also for the social scientists and educationists.

The importance of village leadership in the implementation of plans was stressed by all discussants. For proper implementation of the plans there was need for good personnel, from top to bottom, who could facilitate planning for and by the public themselves. The plans were not to be imposed from above but they were to be worked out according to the felt needs of the people. The linguistic medium adopted by the official machinery was often unsuitable with the result that the administrator could only induce the elite to participate and not the people.

The Seminar generally agreed that social administration was of specialized nature and therefore, needed special techniques, knowledge and skills. A strong current view was that all civil servants were competent to administer social welfare schemes in a Welfare State. This was not correct. Social policy in a Welfare State should be clearly formulated by the policy-makers with the assistance of social scientists and the policy once formulated should be properly implemented by social science experts with scientific knowledge of techniques and methods of social science. It was pointed out in the course of the discussion that evaluation should be made by autonomous agencies like the University aided by the ballot.

In his concluding remarks the Chairman pointed out that the present system of planning in the country was unsound in many respects. A very important section represented by the agricultural workers comprising about one-fifth of the rural population had hardly benefited. Serfdom still persisted in the agricultural sector. Agricultural labourers were still bound hand and foot to the landlords. Regarding leadership he pointed out that there were two types of leaders—democratic and authoritarian. In India we needed group leaders than individual leaders. The three important uplifting

groups in the villages were the cooperatives, the school and the *panchayat*. The teachers should be given specialized extra mural training so that they could lead the people. Cooperative leadership was in the hands of the upper class. This was unfortunate. Leadership should emerge from the common people. Panchayats were faction and caste-ridden. This evil could be removed by social education programmes for panchayat members. Group psychotherapy might bring about favourable conditions of planning, for instance, caste distance could be abridged by group parleys and psychodramas conducted by experts. Planning had neglected the institutional pattern for changing the society. According to him, institutional social conditioning was essential for building up the society of the desired socialistic type.

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